We may now examine the facts and events which Dr. Beni Prasad has sought to explain in terms of the ' junta ' theory.

The rapid rise in the *mansabs* of I'timad-ud-Daula and his family cannot be denied. But the rise in their *mansabs* becomes particularly marked from 1616. Till early in 1616, the *mansabs* held by the family were—I'timad-ud-Daula, 6000/8000; Asaf Khan, 4000/2000; Itiqad Khan, 1500/500; Ibrahim Khan, 2500/2000. However, the rise of this family should be seen in the light of the historical circumstances of the times. It was customary from the time of Akbar that high *mansabs* were given to many members of the families of the leading nobles.[30] Jahangir continued the tradition, and I'timad-ud-Daula's was not the only family many of whose members received high *mansabs*.

Soon after his release, Khan-i-Azam was given the *mansab* of 5000 in 1615, which was raised to 7000 in 1616, in the same year as the *mansab* of I'timad-ud-Daula was raised to 7000/5000. Khan-i-Azam's son, Jahangir Quli Khan, was raised to the *mansab* of 2500/2000 in 1615 and appointed Governor of Allahabad in that year. In 1617, he was appointed Governor of Bihar, a post he held till 1619. Khan-i-A'zam's younger son, Khurram (Kamal Khan), held the *mansab* of 2500, while his brother, Abd-ullah was raised to 1000/300 in 1618. Similarly, Khan-i-Khanan reached the *mansab* of 7000/7000 in 1618, one year before I'timad-ud-Daula reached that *mansab*. He continued as the *de facto* commander of the Deccan throughout this period.[31] His son, Shah Nawaz Khan, was raised to 5000/2000 2-3h in 1618, the year in which Asaf Khan was raised to 5000/4000 2-3h. Khan-i-Khanan's other sons were also given high *mansabs*. The combined *mansab* of 'Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung and his family had reached 12000 *sawars du aspa sih aspa* in 1618, which compared not unfavourably with the combined *mansab* of I'timad-ud-Daula and his family in 1616.[32]

Though Mahabat Khan's personal *mansab* was not raised beyond 4000/3500 after 1612, in 1614 he was given additional *jagir* worth 8

30. *E.g.*, the family of ' Aziz Koka :

Khan-i-Kalan, 5000; Qutub-ud-Din Muhammad Khan, 5000; Naurang Khan, 4000; Sharif Muhammad Khan, 3000; Shah Muhammad Khan, 2000; Shams-ud-Din Husain (later Jahangir Quli Khan), 2000; Shadman, 1500; 'Aziz Koka himself reached the *mansab* of 7000 during Akbar's reign.

The family of Man Singh :

Bhagwan Das, 5000; Man Singh 7000; Jagannath, 5000; Raj Singh, 4000/3000; Askaran, 3000; Madho Singh, 3000/2000; Khangar, 2000, etc.

31. There is no evidence that Khan-i-Khanan temporised with the dominant ' junta ', as Beni Prasad suggests. According to Roe ' Shah Jahan was more favourably inclined towards ' Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung than towards Khan-i-Khanan. Purchass, vol. IV, p. 859.

32. The account of the *mansabs* and the appointments is based on the *Tuzuk*.

kror dams.[33] He was given *du aspa sih aspa* rank in 1615 which had to be curtailed later when he did not bring to muster the required contingent.[34] It should also be remembered that though he had been entrusted with the command of Mewar, he had not achieved much. However, during this period, Mahabat Khan was by no means relegated to the background. He was sent to bring back Khan-i-Azam from the Mewar campaign.[35] He was also entrusted with important missions to the Deccan. In 1617, he was appoined to the very important command of Kabul, to bring under control the continuing tribal unrest.[36] His son, Aman-ullah, was raised to the *mansab* of 1000/600 in 1615, to 1500/400 in 1619 and 2000/1500 in 1620. Again it was on his recommendation that the *mansab* of Mubariz Khan was raised to 2000/1500 and Sardar Afghan was appointed to 1000/400.[37] After the custody of Khusrau was taken from Ani Rai Singh Dalan, the latter was raised in 1618 to the *mansab* of 2000/1600. Early in 1620, at the request of Mahabat Khan, he was posted to serve in the Bangash campaign.[38] If the *Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shahi* is to be believed, Mahabat Khan was by no means out of favour with Jahanagir.

During the period under review, a very large number of nobles received promotion. A few of the nobles, apart from those mentioned earlier, who were promoted were :—

Khwaja Jahan 3000/1000 (1614), 3500/2200 (1615), 5000/2500 (1619), 5000/3000 (1620), held the governorship of Agra.–Khan-i-'Alam, on return from embassy to Persia, *mansab* raised–5000/3000 (1620). Khwaja Ab'ul Hasan–4000/2000 (1618), 5000/2000–(1620), held the post of Mir Bakhshi. Qilij Khan 6000/5000 (1611) appointed Governor of Kabul ; his son Chin Qilij, appointed Governor of Gujarat. Murtaza Khan 6000/5000 (1618), governorship of Punjab, continued to remain in favour and held a position of influence. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was obviously very much in favour and held the governorships of Agra and Multan during the period. Mirza Rustam Safavi's *mansab* was raised to 5000/1500 in 1618. Bahadur Khan raised to 5000/4000 in 1620. Similarly great favour was shown to Dilawar Khan, Bir Singh Deo Bundela, Suraj Singh, Khan-i-Dauran, Muqarrab Khan, Sadiq Khan, Saif Khan, Amanat Khan, Rizavi Khan, Keshav Das Maru, Ram Dad Kachhwaha etc.[39]

33. *Ahwal*, f. 8b.
34. *Tuzuk*, p. 190.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
39. The above information is based on the *Tuzuk*.

The career of the above nobles reveals that promotions were fairly well spread and it would not be correct to assume that the sole passport to promotion was the favour of the 'junta'. Many of the persons mentioned above were either hostile to the so-called 'junta' or not connected with it,[40] while the affiliations of many others are not known. Thus, it would not be correct to assume that during this period, the court was divided into two factions, for and against the 'juna'. In a very interesting letter which the Khan-i-A'zam wrote to Jahangir in 1613, he makes his dislike for Qilij Khan, 'Abd-ullah Khan Firuz Jung, Mahabat Khan, Khan-i-Jahan and Murtaza Khan obvious. Qilij Khan and Murtaza Khan apparently intrigued against Khan-i-Dauran.[41] Shah Jahan's relations with Murtaza Khan were by no means cordial,[42] though the latter was certainly no partisan of Khusrau. Mahabat Khan may or may not have been hostile to Nur Jahan, but he was certainly hostile to both Asaf Khan and to Shah Jahan.[43] Therefore, there seems to have been an antipathy between Khan-i-Khanan and 'Abdullah Khan.[44] It will thus be seen that there were many factions among the nobles, that they intrigued against each other; but no single group succeeded in ousting the others from positions of power or importance.

If the position of the princes is carefully analysed, it would appear that the 'junta' theory does not offer a satisfactory explanation of the actual situation.

Khusrau had not only been put forward as a claimant to the throne against Jahangir himself, but had actually revolted in 1606. In 1608, it was alleged that he had entered into a conspiracy for an attack upon the emperor's life. In 1610, there was an outbreak in Bihar in his name. Under these circumstances, Jahangir's attitude towards Khusrau had become hardened even before his marriage to Nur Jahan. He had tried to build up the position of Parvez, but Parvez failed first in the Mewar campaign, and then in the Deccan. Moreover, he could earn a reputation neither as a commander nor as an administrator. Consequently, it was but natural that Khurram was given a chance to lead the Mewar campaign in 1613.[45]

40. Eg. Khan-i-Alam, Khan-i-Jahan, Murtaza Khan, Ani Rai Singh, Dalan, Khan-i-Azam, Khwaja Abul Hasan, etc.

41. This letter is included in *Jalal Hisari's Maktubat-i-Khan-i-Jahan Muzaffar Khan wa Gwaliyar Nama waghaira* (British Museum, Add. 16, 859, ff. 17a-19b), apparently by mistake. I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. Irfan Habib, for drawing my attention to this letter.

42. *Tuzuk*., p. 254.

43. *Ahwal*, ff. 18b-19b.

44. Purchass, vol. IV, p. 859.

45. Jahangir suggests that Khurram was appointed at the request of Khan-i-A'zam *Tuzuk*, p. 126. But this is not supported by the account given earlier on p. 125.

Khurram, it seems, had been nursing ambitions from his early youth. It was he who had discovered the alleged conspiracy of Khusrau in 1608. We cannot judge whether Khusrau was actually guilty of the conspiracy or not, but the discovery of the plot earned for Khurram his father's gratitude.[46] When he was appointed to the Mewar campaign, he accused Khan-i-A'zam of intriguing in the interest of Khusrau. With the suspicion which Jahangir already had regarding both Khusrau and Khan-i-A'zam, he readily believed Khurram and imprisoned Khan-i-A'zam.[47] At the same time restrictions on Khusrau were reimposed.[48] It is thus easy to see that these actions were taken at the instance of Khurram.

The victory of Khurram in the Mewar campaign not only raised the prestige of the empire, but seems to have convinced Jahangir that Khurram was the ablest among his sons. It was therefore natural that when in 1915-16, the situation in the Deccan continued to remain out of control, he decided to transfer Parvez, who had proved to be a failure, to Allahabad, and send Khurram in over-all command of the Deccan. To give Khurram added prestige, his *mansab* was raised and the title of Shah conferred upon him. It was about this time that the custody of Khusrau was transferred from Ani Rai Singh Dalan to Asaf Khan, presumably to reassure Khurram.[49]

The problem of the Deccan had defied solution since the beginning of Jahangir's reign and had not been solved by many of the renowned generals. The constant bickerings among the commanders and the rumours of bribery and corruption were deemed to be the principal causes of this failure. When Parvez, as the representative of the emperor, was unable to handle the situation, and the Khan-i-Khanan sent urgent appeals for reinforcements, Khurram was the obvious choice. There is no doubt that Khurram's appointment materially contributed to the successful conclusion of the Deccan campaign.[50] The Mughals regained what they had lost; perhaps they did not want anything more. It was hoped that a peace concluded on such a basis would prove to be durable and bring to an end the prolonged warfare which had almost ruined the economy of the Deccan and had caused such a drain on the treasury. The magnificent reception accorded to Khurram must have also impressed the Deccan States. In any case, Khurram became the emperor's favourite, received the unprecedented title of Shah Jahan,

46. *Tuzuk*, p. 58.
47. *Tuzuk*, p. 58.
48. *Tuzuk*, p. 128. Restrictions on Khusrau had been relaxed in autumn 1613. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
50. Cf. Wali Sirhindi, f. 412b; *Ahwal*, ff. 12a and b.

an extraordinary rise in his *mansab*, and marked out as the heir-designate.[51]

It seems that by 1619, it was being realised that Shah Jahan was becoming too powerful and it would not be prudent to allow a situation to develop in which he might consider himself no longer dependent upon the emperor's favour. Consequently, Khusrau was released in 1619, and the *mansab* of Parvez was raised to 20,000/10,000 in the same year.[52] The release of Khusrau could not have been to the liking of Shah Jahan,[53] and when he was asked to proceed to the Daccan for a second time, he insisted on taking Khusrau with him. This insistence suggests that he was perhaps afraid that the court circles might put Khusrau on the throne should anything happen to Jahangir. However, Shah Jahan was in such a strong position at that time that his demand for taking Khusrau could not be turned down. But it is very likely that this demand was resented and it was decided at that very time that Shahriyar should be betrothed to Ladli Begum,[54] possibly as a check upon the ambitions of Shah Jahan.[55] While the positions of Parvez and Shahriyar were built-up to some extent as a safeguard against the possibility of Shah Jahan assuming greater airs, nothing was done against him directly. Not only was Khusrau handed over to him, but when he left for the Deccan, a magnificent army and a large number of *mansabdars* and *ahdis* were sent with him.[56]

While a stage did come when the interests of Shah Jahan differed from those of the emperor, the interests of Nur Jahan were intimately bound-up with those of the emperor. She certainly had the wisdom to realise that her own position depended entirely on the life of her husband. Thus it is not possible to find a dichotomy between her interests and those of Jahangir, and this presumably was the reason for whatever influence she exercised. However, till 1620 the decisions, even though influenced by Nur Jahan to some extent, were definitely the decisions of Jahagnir himself. There seems to be no special motive for Nur Jahan to enter into an alliance with Shah Jahan in her own selfish interests, as distinct from the interests of Jahangir. Thus, the position of Shah Jahan was built-up not because of the existence of a 'junta', but as a part of imperial policy; measures against Khusrau

51. *Tuzuk*, p. 289.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

53. The rumours of Khurram's downfall and of the rehabilitation of Khusrau which became current in September 1619 (quoted above) strengthen this assumption.

54. Shahriyar's betrothal, Nov.-Dec. 1620, *Tuzuk*, p. 320; Shah Jahan's departure, Dec. 1620. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

55. Mu'tamad Khan clearly says that the betrothal of Ladli Begum to Shahriyar was an act of hostility to Shah Jahan. *Ahwal*, f. 17a.

56. *Tuzuk*, p. 323.

were taken at the instance of Shah Jahan; and finally, the position of the other princes was sought to be strengthened as a safeguard against the ambitions of Shah Jahan.[57]

The reign of Jahangir saw a deepening crisis in the Mughal nobility. The desire of the nobles to have increasingly higher *mansabs* for themselves and their associates, and the laxity with which Jahangir granted these *mansabs*, seems to have created a difficult situation. It was not possible to find enough *jagirs* to keep pace with the increase in the *mansabs* and the number of *mansabdars*. In such situation it was only natural that there should be intrigues and factional struggles among the nobles.[58] Jahangir's own temperament was such that he could not handle such a situation with firmness or foresight. He was susceptible to backbiting and was often fickle-minded.[59] At the same time he showed leniency to a remarkable degree and continued to keep in high places many officers in whose integrity and loyalty he had little confidence.[60] This must have contributed even further to factionalism. Naturally, nobles tried to attach themselves either to the princes or to the other influential nobles. But although a close study of these groupings has yet to be undertaken, two observations may be tentatively made: (*a*) that the groupings and alliances were shifting in character; and, (*b*) that no single group could be considered to have become so powerful as to oust all the other groups from positions of importance. This crisis in the nobility is to be seen from the beginning of Jahangir's reign, and was not a new feature which developed after his marriage to Nur Jahan.

While the Amir-ul-Umara lived, he certainly enjoyed a dominant position at the court. After his death, I'timad-ud-Daula gradually rose in the emperor's favour and occupied the position which the Amir-ul-Umara had enjoyed. Jahangir had implicit faith in his wisdom, ability and loyalty.[61] Perhaps, his affection for Nur Jahan contributed to the influence of I'timad-ud-Daula, much in the same way as the matrimonial alliance must have contributed to the remarkable rise of the family of Raja Barah Mall during the reign of Akbar. But there is overwhelming evidence to show that during the period under review, the

57. Among the reasons for the break-up of the 'junta', Dr. Beni Prasad mentions the religious factor—Shah Jahan was gradually estranged from his Shi'ite associates and the Persian interest saw itself threatened by the rising Sunni party of Shah Jahan. *Op. cit.*, pp. 271, 276. Although there is no evidence to show that Nur Jahan was a Shi'ite, whatever might have been her religion, it is likely that her brother, Asaf Khan, also belonged to the same religion. There is certainly no reason to assume that Shah Jahan was estranged from Asaf Khan.

58. Cf. Khan-i-Azam's letter, *BM*, Add. 16, 859.

59. *Ibid.*

60. E.g. Khan-i-Khanan, Khan-i-A'zam, Man Singh, Asaf Khan, Jafar Beg etc.

61. Cf. his obituary notice written by Jahangir, *Tuzuk*, p. 330, *Cf.* also p. 136.

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main decisions were those of Jahangir himself and that the rise of I'timad-ud-Daula did not mean that the nobles who were not attached to him had lost their influence.

But the position of Asaf Khan, even though he became the *wakil*, was certainly much less important than that of his father.[62] The marriage of his daughter with Shah Jahan must have led to the belief that he was partial to the interests of that prince. But as soon as occasion arose to provide safeguards against Shah Jahan, I'timad-ud-Daula cast his weight against the prince, and hence by implication, against Asaf Khan.[63]

Conclusions:

The above review suggests the inadequacy of the 'junta' theory, for it provides an over-simplified picture of an otherwise complex situation. The assumption that between 1611 and 1620, Nur Jahan, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan and Shah Jahan formed a single faction, does not conform to facts. During this period, there is little evidence to suggest that Nur Jahan was playing an active political rôle. Her independent political rôle starts with the decline in the health of Jahangir and the death of I'timad-ud-Daula. However, during this period, it does not seem that she exercised her influence, for factional ends. While I'timad-ud-Daula's position must have been strengthened because of Nur Jahan, there is no reason to doubt his implicit loyalty to Jahangir, and evidence of his factionalism is lacking. Asaf Khan's loyalty to Shah Jahan however does not suggest that there was also a factional alliance between the prince and I'timad-ud-Daula or Nur Jahan. In fact in his desire to build-up his own position, Shah Jahan could rely far more upon other nobles than either upon Nur Jahan or I'timad-ud-Daula. Finally, there seem to be innumerable groupings among the nobles who were intriguing against each other, but it would not be correct to assume that the groupings revolved principally in favour of or against the 'junta', or that any single group succeeded in ousting the other groups from positions of importance. Thus many of the political events of Jahangir's reign as well as the crisis in the nobility would become clear when the rôle of the different nobles is studied and the working of these groupings and their stresses and strains further analysed.

62. For examples of Asaf Khan being admonished, *Cf.* Purchass, vol. IV, pp. 882-88.

63. It appears from the *Tuzuk* that the betrothal of Shahriyar with Ladli Begum was arranged between Jahangir and I'timad-ud-Daula. *Tuzuk*, p. 320. In 1622, Mahabat Khan distinguished between the positions of Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan. He responded to the call of the former, but insisted that the latter be removed from the capital. *Ahwal* ff. 18b-19b.

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SOME GLIMPSES OF SOCIETY AND POLITY AS DEPICTED IN USMAN'S CHITRAVALI

Shri B. K. Singh

Usman's Chitravali, a book of 236 pages of 8 vol. size in print, was written in 1613 A.D. during Jahangir's reign. The poet was a resident of Ghazipur district in Uttar Pradesh, and was a Sufi by faith and conviction. Naturally therefore, he stood for communal harmony and concord, and has attempted to spread the message of Hindu-Muslim unity through his long poem. Chitravali is a fictitious female character in the poem and the story as interwoven around her is an allegory of insignificant literary merit, but the importance of the work lies in the few glimpses that it provides of the contemporary society and polity of the early 17th century and thus supplements our knowledge of the time which is mainly derived from the court chronicles and royal autobiographies which are silent about the social condition of the people.

The Chitravali was published by the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Varanasi in 1912 and since then no subsequent edition has been issued. The manuscript was first discovered by Babu Ameer Singh in 1904 in the private library of the Maharaja of Banaras, which was not the original work, but a copy of the original and transcribed in the Kaithi script in 1759. The metre of the work is simple, after seven ardhalis (half of a Chaupai) there is a doha (Couplet). After the usual euology of the Creator and the prophet Muhammad and his disciples the poet has showered encomiums upon the ruling monarch who was Nuruddin (Jahangir).[1] His sense of justice has been highly praised by Usman who says that the monarch had got hung many golden bells fastened to silken strings and these were rung by those who sought immediate redress of their grievances.

The festival of Nauroz was celebrated with great eclat every year. A canopy in which the figures of the sun and moon and of the twelve signs of the zodiac were embroidered, was erected. A temporary throne was provided for the occasion on which were displayed precious stones like diamonds, pearls and jewels. Jahangir's munificence has been highly eulogized by Usman.[2] The Majesty received enormous

presents from his people and from visitors who came from far-off places. Traders and scholars from countries like Arabia and Iraq visited his court. From Egypt came Rasa (metallic salt) and musk from Khotan.[3]

The names of Raja Vikrama and Bhoja were very well-known.[4] A kshatriya was duty bound to protect the honour of women and cows. In the Hindu courts bards were employed who composed poems in praise of their patrons and recited the compositions on appropriate occasions.[5] Musicians and dancers were maintained to entertain courtiers and nobles. Inside harems only eunuchs were employed for they were healthy and could be relied upon.

There is not much in the Chitravali which may help us in forming an idea of the political condition of the country. Ambassadors (Baseeth) were sent to the enemy before the commencement of hostilities for negotiation, but if a surprise attack was intended, no ambassador was sent; sometimes emissaries were sent when they had reached the vicinity of the country that was to be besieged.[6] Because Usman was a Sufi, he, therefore, did not know much about war and peace. A few weapons and arms, *viz.* Khang (sword), Kamaich (cannon), Tupak (matchlock), Sel and Katar (dagger)[7] that he mentions in his book are too well-known. Elephants were procured from Ceylon.[7A] The two varieties of dogs that were employed in hunting are Gurji and Siraji, the latter perhaps came from Shiraz.

The poet does not say much about crime and punishment also. Those who acted treacherously were punished by having their heads clean shaved and their faces painted black. The criminal was then made to ride a donkey and in this condition he was paraded through the streets and thereafter exiled from the country.[8] Captive's legs were tied to Payaja (leg chains). Traitors were burnt alive.[9] This punishment was also awarded for grave crimes.

About the state of education of the princely order there are several references, but about the education of the people there are practically none. Usman says that the princes were taught Amarkosh, Vedic Grammar, Yoga, Prosody and Rhetoric, Music, Geeta, Dramaturgy, Astronomy (including magic), and Geography. At another place Usman says the princes were taught the fourteen branches of knowledge, but he does not seem to know as to what those fourteen branches of knowledge were.[10] These subjects were considered to be an essential part of the education of a prince. Physical education was also provided and it consisted of regular exercises such as gadka and fari.[10A]

The name of Chitravali is significant, because during Jahangir's reign painting got a fillip, unprecedented in the history of Mediaeval India, due to state patronage. Chitravali, the heroine, is depicted as possessing an art studio in her palace apartments which was decorated with the paintings drawn by Chitravali herself.[11] The art of music was also practised with great avidity and good singers were patronized by kings and nobles alike. In the Chitravali we find mentioned several musical instruments such as Pakhawaj, Mahuar (now used only by snake charmers), Chang, Vanshi (flute), Kamaich (?), Been, Piank, Huduk, Jaljant (Jalataranga), Daf, Jhanjh, Manjira and Tura. Amongst these Chang, Pinak and Huduk are now rarely used.[12] Usman seems to have been acquainted with classical music also. He gives the names of several popular ragas which were sung in those days. They were Bhairava, Kaushika, Meghmallar, Hindol, Deepak and Shri. Among these he says Shri raga is the principal raga and the particular school to which this raga belongs is very popular, by which he probably meant Shivamat and which according to him is Parvatimat. The other ragas which belong to this school according to Usman are Shri, Bhairava, Basant, Pancham, Meghmallar, and Natanarayan. In the Shri-raga group there are several raginis (he does not say five which is the actual number) *viz.*, Gauri, Madhumadhavi, Kedari, Malavi, Tarivan and Bihari. The Bhairava group of raginis are Bhairavi, Rava (?), Bengali, Gujari, Desi, Devagiri, Ghairati, Todi, Hindol and Lalit. In the Pancham group has been included Vibhas, Bhupali, Vadhisi, Karnati and Mali. The Meghmallar group consists of Gandhari, Sorath, Mallari (Malhar), Saderi, Harsingari and Kausiki. The sixth raga Nata has Natika, Kamodi, Kalyani, Nata, Hamiri, Ahiri and Sarangi (Sarang). Usman then proceeds to describe the components of a raga *viz.*, Audava, Khadava and Sampurna. And then the usual seven svaras of music have been enumerated.[13] In the same context there are a few references about the art of dancing, because in those days dance was considered to be a part of music. Usman does not seem to have been aware of the other schools of music, *i.e.*, Krishnamat and Bharatamat, may be these two might not have been in use in those days. Some of the ragas that Usman has mentioned are no more sung.

The writing of the Chitravali is itself a concrete example of communal harmony and good relations that existed between the two main communities of India, at least in the villages. Muslim saints were revered by the Hindus and Hindu saints by the Muslims. Usman's Teacher, certain Haji Peer, was respected both by the Hindus and Muslims.[14] Tantrik practices of recluses who belonged to the Shaiva sect appealed to the lower class people more, because besides astonishing them, they sometimes proved efficacious. Tantrik preachers pretended to possess supernatural powers. Their personal belongings consisted of Chakra (wheel), Khappar (begging bowl, sometimes a skull), Trisul (trident),

rosaty[15] etc. The worship of Lord Shiva was more popular amongst the Hindus from olden times that Shiva can be easily moved and satisfied with only small offerings.[16] Amongst the Muslims saints and religious divines were worshipped. Usman mentions three such Muslim saints who were worshipped in those days. They were Shah Nizam Peer of Narnaul, Hazi Peer, a Sufi and the teacher of Usman,[17] and Shah Kutub of Garhidwar.

Social customs as a rule do not change easily and in a short time. They have come down to us in their present form from time immemorial and if there have been changes, they have come slowly. So the age in which Usman lived did not differ materially from the present as regards social customs and practices. People in those days had implicit faith in superstitions and dogmas, more so the illiterate, and their number was then great. They believed in the existence of etheral bodies like Danava and Churail.[18] Devotees and the laity who desired to please the gods made offerings and sometimes even promised to sacrifice animals like pigs of twelve years of age.[19] Because Usman was a Sufi, he was against idol worship, At several places he has tried to discourage idol worship,[20] but in a persuasive manner. People also believed in the efficacy of miracles and magic. It was the belief of many that by applying certain ointment (Lukanjan) to the eyes one can become invisible.[21]

The material supplied by the Chitravali about medical practice is very deficient. Vaidyas and Hakeems diagnosed ailments of the human body by feeling the pulse[22] and pills were prescribed for different diseases. Herbs were also tied to the arms of ailing persons.[23]

Obsequies and the last rites of the dead were performed by the son as is done now, and, therefore, a man who had no son, felt perturbed.[24] In old age people used to retire from the world and entrust the duty of looking after the family to their sons. The distribution of charities among the poor was considered a pious act, so one who had no male issue to succeed him was advised by the family priest to perform yajna and please the gods by penance and the distribution of charities.[25] The faqirs and sannyasis were greeted and welcomed when they visited the court or homes of persons and their feet were washed with water and massaged.[26]

The birth of a son was celebrated with enthusiasm by kings and commoners alike. Women used to pass the night singing and dancing to the accompaniment of drums and other musical instruments. In the morning the family priest or an astrologer was called who prepared a horoscope of the new born. On the sixth day was observed the

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Shasthi ceremony of the babe with great rejoicings and night long celebrations were held. If a king was blessed with a male offspring, he gave alms and awarded his peoples suitably.[27]

A few references to the marriage ceremony of the Hindus are very interesting. As the Hindus have always held the Kusha grass as sacred from time immemorial, it was used both at the time of marriage and also alms-giving. On the occasion of marriage the father of the girl held some Kusha grass and water in his hands and then gave his daughter in marriage. The garments of the couple were tied together and then the priests chanted mantras and the couple circumambulated the altar on which burnt fire seven times and then the marriage ceremony was considered as completed. The ceremony over, the bride was taken to a room called Kohabar whither later on the bride-groom was also taken and in that room the couple passed the night together and thus got acquainted with each other. This custom is prevalent in eastern Uttar Pradesh even now.[28] On the subsequent morning bridegroom's father distributed alms amongst the poor.[29] After the marriage ceremony the bridegroom's party was given a grand feast and at the time of their taking food obscene songs were sung and the party was humoured with filthy language that was directed against the men of the bridegroom's party. It is done even now in Uttar Pradesh. Other festivities of a boisterous nature were the explosion of crackers and colour throwing. The house of the bride was especially decorated and illuminated.[30] Various methods were adopted to introduce the couple to each other. One such method was the game of Chausar, in which the couple participated. When it was over they garlanded each other.[31] At the time of the parting, the daughter was given handsome presents by her father as well as by other relations. The bridegroom also got his due.

A few festivals that were observed with gusto in those days have also been mentioned by Usman. They were Divali, Holi, Shripanchami and Shivaratri.[32] They were observed as they are done now. Annual congregations used to attract people from far-off places and of all ages and communities, because besides providing amusements they also gave opportunities to the people to buy and sell their goods. One such festival was that of Girinar.[33]

Usman has not given a detailed account of the dress of the people or of kings and nobles. A few references tell us that the rich wore a Jhanga[34] (a flowing upper garment) and dagal (a long loose garment). Women used to wear Choli (a tight short sleeved shirt). Ornaments of women were of various types, but heavy in comparison to modern ornaments. They wore Tanda, rings, Kumbhia (ear-rings), necklace, Kinkini, Chuda, Payal and Bichhiya (worn on the leg and fingers

of the feet respectively). Foot-wear was called Panwari. The ear of the Hindu children were bored and in them were worn Kundal[35] by even grown-ups. The ascetics put on tattered garments and covered themselves with a blanket or a sheet of cloth. They looked like modern recluses.

Textiles from Gujarat seem to have been very popular, because Usman writes about them appreciatively.[36] Women had great taste for jewellery. Some other widely worn ornaments were the Sheesh-ful, Besari worn in the lower holes of the nostrils, Khutila, Tarivan, Manimukta and bangles.[36aA]

Articles of food have been mentioned in some detail. The cook was called the Negi.[37] Usman says that the Bengalis have great weakness for seven coveted niceties of food, *viz.*, bananas, Kanji (fermented rice water), betel leaves, leafy vegetables, Rasa (juice of Khajur or date-palm), fish and rice. In feasts food was served on Pattals (flat plates made from big tree leaves joined together). Wheat was first washed with milk and then a special type of Paratha was prepared which was called Luchai. Rice was scented. The preparations made from gram and moong (a variety of pulse) were many and varied. Duhuka, Chhimi and Khandabara, Amrit bari, Fulaura and Bara were the other preparations that were at feasts. Duhendi, Lapsi were the other delicacies and pickles used to be of various varieties. Salty preparations like Samosa were also known. Some unique preparations consisted of fruits which had two flavours, for example some mangoes gave the taste of jackfruits, lemon that of the pomegranates and dates those of almonds.

Usman was well acquainted with the geographical features of an important city of India. The East India Company was founded in 1600 A.D. and the Englishmen first arrived in India in 1608. The Chitravali was composed in 1613, still Usman was aware of the presence of the Englishmen, but where he actually saw them and in what connection is not clear, because the identity of Balandip where he says he saw them is obscure.[39] Was it Bombay? Usman says it is difficult to reach there. The Englishmen are always after money, they drink wine and eat pigs. Wherever they go they establish harbours and take ships. Of the places mentioned by Usman most of them are still well-known. In Narnaul lived the Shah Nizam Peer and in Ghazipur Usman himself. The account of Ghazipur is detailed. Usman says " Ghazipur is a beautiful place and has been a place of pilgrimage from ancient times. Waters of the Jamuna and Ganga flow through this region and it is here that the Gomati loses its identity. Here reside both the Hindus and Muslims—Mughals Pathans, Rajputs, Bhats, Brahmans, artists, scholars and the Hindus of all the four varnas.

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The city is bustling with men professing different faiths and communities who live happily together.[40] Nepal, Saurashtra,[41] Kashmir, Tibet, Kumayun and Jambudeep are undefined indefinite regions. Some places like Nehnagar, Roopnagar[42] and Bhoganagar[43] are imaginary.[44] The names of mountains and rivers have also been given. They are Dhaulagiri, Nagamati, Bagamati. Among the places of pilgrimage are Hardwar, Badrinath, Kedarnath,[45] Rameshwar,[46] Mathura, Kashi, Brindaban, Prayag, Jaganath. Gorakhpur was also a place of pilgrimage, but of a particular sect among the Hindus, *i.e.*, Gokrahpanthis. There lived many recluses who mostly belonged to the Gorakhpanth and live in caves and practise austerities.[47]

Some foreign places and regions have also been mentioned. They are Khorasan, Rome, Siam, Mecca, Medina, Baghad, Istambul, Egypt, Laddakh, Ceylon, Pegu, Manipur, China. Amongst the Indian cities and territories mentioned are Multan, Sindh, Tbatta, Baluchistan, Gakkhar, Peshawar, Kabul, Gujarat, Jamnagar, Sailana (were according to Usman Adam was born), Karnatak, Nauranga, Kukhar (?), Orissa, Tailanga (Tilanganga), Tamilnad where lived the Firangis, Hughali, Belibandar, Berar, Devagiri, Chittor, Dehli, Agra, Rohitas, Maggah (Magahar), Tirhut, Garhiduar which was infested with dacoits and cheats, Bhathi, Porbandar, Sonargaon, Malua, Chatgaon, Sonedip, Kooch Kachar (?), where there were numerous hillocks of clay,[48] Makharhang (Mayurbhanj) and Assam. Some places have been graphically described. Usman says, "Bengal is a unique country. The land is covered with green foliage all the year round and jack fruits, coconut, mangoes, Sopari (Betel-nuts) grow in abundance. The land is under water for five months in a year. The Bengalis are rich people and are compassionate by nature. The people of Gujarat and Jamanagar are handsome to look at."[49]

Reference: Chitravali by Usman Kavi, Edited by Jaganmohan Varma, Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, 1913. Pages, Introduction 19 pp. and work 236 pages. Price Rs. 2/-.

Ref.	P.	Ref.	P.	Ref.	P.	Ref.	P.
1.	6	14.	10	27.	22	39.	160
2.	8	15.	102	28.	154	40.	9
3.	6	16.	152	29.	156	41.	184
4.	111	17.	10	30.	198	42.	82
5.	151	18.	80	31.	202	43.	80
6.	188	19.	42	32.	102-173	44.	82
7.	158	20.	68	33.	157	45.	57
7A.	140						
8.	54	21.	86	34.	86	46.	160
9.	207	22.	88	35.	85	47.	81
10.	12	23.	128	36.	105	48.	161
11.	86	24.	15	36A.	93	49.	161
12.	29	25.	16	37	64		
13.	30	26.	17	38	199		

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THE DESHMUKH FAMILY OF PĀRWĀ IN VIDARBHA

(A HISTORIC VAISHYA LINGAYAT FAMILY DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD)

SHRI D. B. MAHAJAN

Introductory :

IT was through the kindess of Shri T. D. *alias* Abasaheb Deshmukh, M.L.A. of Pārwā, that I had the great pleasure of examining various old and important documents tied up in about twenty bundles which constituted the valuable " Daftarkhana " of the Deshmukhs of Kelapur Paragana in old Berar. In the neglected bundles of papers were found about ten original documents written in Persian,[2] and the rest in Urdu and Modi scripts. These records contain valuable original Firmāns, issued by the Ālmirgir-Aurangzeb-old letters from the various Chiefs of States, Mahajars, Account-sheets, Political-correspondence from Poonā, Hyderabad, Chandā and Nāgpur, and many other miscellaneous documents of historical value.

These unpublished documents throw fresh light not only on the various events concerning this great family, but also on the important happenings in the history of the Marathas during the 16th and 17th centuries and that of the English during the 18th century. The following is the result of scrutiny of some of the valuable manuscripts made by the present writer. This information is coming before the readers for the first time.

Nagoji Basawantrai (1666-1699 A.D.) :

The real founder of this great family is still unknown. The oldest document available mentions the name of Nagoji Basawantrai, who is therefore known to be the maker of this family. "Basawantrai" is not the name of the father of Nagoji, but appears to be the family title[1] *e.g.*, Yeshwantrao Basawantrai, Nagorao Basawantrai and Anandrao Basawantrai etc. are the names found in the documents.

1. Udērām of Mahur and Jadhao of Sindhakhed, in Vidarbha are similar instances in point.
2. The writer has also made use of notes made by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal on Persian documents, which are kept in " Sharadashram " Historical reserach institute, Yeotmal.

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Five of the documents issued by Aurangzeb during the period of Nagoji, supply us the following important information :—

(*a*) This Firamān is issued to Nagoji, in the Fasli year 1077, (1666 A.D.) by Khanjaman Vazir on the recommendations of one Harech Khan, for the services of the Deshmukhi and Deshpandyas of Paragana, Kelapur. It confers various rights including those of receiving Rusum and Lawājamā. It clearly mentions that it renews the old Watan continued from "Kadim." It makes a grant of 12 villages[3] as Inams to Nagoji, for his valuable help in putting down the revolts of the Gonds, and for rehabilitating the tract. The fact that members of this family held Sanads for Deshmukhi even prior to Nagoji, is supported by the writer of the Gazetteer[4] which states that "The Gond king Dhundia Ram Shah of Chanda (1597-1622 A.D.) had issued Sanads to Lingāyat Wānis (Banias)." There cannot be any other Lingayat family other than that of the present Deshmukhs of Pārwā. Besides, they are actually enjoying the Deshmukhi of the four Paraganas.

(*b*) This Sanad was issued in the Julus year 27 (1685 A.D.) four copies for four Paraganas of 1. Yot-Lohara, 2. Bori, 3. Kelapur and 4. Kalam, are available. Amanatkha issued one, on Cha. 5th Jillhej and 2nd on Cha. 22 Sewāl. Both the Sanads mention 14 villages as Inams.

(*c*) This Sanad was issued by Alamgir himself in his Julus year 86, (about 1694 A.D.) in the name of Nagoji, in which in addition to the Watans of Deshmukhi and Deshpandyapan, one Chawar of land at Kalam, is bestowed on Nagoji along with various rights and privileges.

All the above documents mention that Nagoji had rendered very valuable help in putting down the several revolts of Gonds, which shows that Nagoji had maintained some army under him.

(*d*) Yet another important letter[5] bearing the seal of the "Alamgir, Bādashāhā Gāzi" throws light on the military activities of the members of this family. It was issued through the Gond King Kibā *alias* Kiranshā of Chānda and states. "Although you were requested to come with your army, neither you nor your son Dongar Rai (Parwat Rai ?) arrived. You should depute Dongar Rai with selected army for

3. (1) Pandharkewada, (2) Jarud, (3) Māndwā, (4) Shioni, (5) Chincholi, (6) Jāmb, (7) Jarang, (8) Marēgaon, (9) Pārwā, (10) Pahāpal, (11) Khed sarad, (12) Akhalad.

4. "On Babbaji's death his son Dhundia Ram Shaha was enthroned Paraganas of Kelapur, (2) Bhori, (3) Yeotmal and (4) Kalam Haveli were bestowed on a Lingayat Bania (Chanda Gaz. p. 47)" (B) *Chandrapurchā Itihāsa* by A. J. Rajurkar, p. 85.

5. Letter is issued by "Shri Maha Rajadhiraj Shri, Bhupati Rai Shrikrishna Syahaji Raje to Gosawi Nagorao Deshmukh of Pārwā." (*b*) The seal reads as "Alamgir Badashaha Gazi, Kiransha."

the campaign. Please arrange for money from some money-lenders. Money received from Aurangabad is already spent." The letter is torn at places and neither the date nor the name of the campaign is available. It addds " We have full confidence in you." The letter is genuine beyond all doubt. The seal stamp of Alamgir and the name of Kiransha therein clearly show that the Gond king was under the Moghal emperor and the Deshmukhs were working under the Gond king. That the Deshmukhs had army under them is again supported by the fact that there were armed soldiers in the Gadhis (small forts) at the villages 1. Kalamb 2. Pārwā, 3. Seoni and 4. Talegaon. There was considerable stock of arms[6] and ammunitions at these forts.

(*e*) Another Firmān issued in the Julus year 36, (F. 1104) bears the endorsement of Jamalulmuk Asad Khan. It repeats the names of Inam Villages etc.

(*f*) Another document of F. 1109 (1699 A.D.) bears the signatures of Mokaddams in the Paraganā, accepting Nagoji, as their Deshmukh.

There are various other valuable documents giving the accounts of the Paraganas during the period of Aurangzeb and throw light on the Revenue and judicial administration of Berar. The account sheets are signed by the members of the famous family and bear their family seals with dates. We can therefore fix the dates of various members in their chronological order.

From the fragmentary family tree available in the records, it is supposed that Dhumanji was the son of Dongar Rai ; but this does not appear to be correct. We have seen that Dongar Rai was Nagoji's son. Thus Dhumanji and Dongar Rai appear to be brothers. This is supported by the account sheet (emolument) D/24-3-1862 (Anandrao's signature) which describes Nagorao as the original grantee in 7th generation. But the family tree shows that it counts as 8th generation as follows:—Nagoji → DongarRai → Dhumaji → Shankarrao → Yeshwantrao → Dattaji → Nagorao (2nd) → Anandrao. The family tree therefore, appears rather doubtful. It is unfortunate that no other document mentioning Dongar Rai's name is available in the record.

II. *Dhumanji Nagoji* :

Of the five important manuscripts three[7] which are in Fārshi, throw fresh light on the character of Kanhoji Bhonsla[8] and two give

6. See collection of MSS in Deshmukh's " *daftarkhānā.*"

7. 1st paper 20 lines torn and incomplete. 2nd is dated 22 Saban 1143 F. and bears the seal of the Kazi. 3rd, is dated 15, Rabilawal 1143 F. (1733).

8. Parasoji Bhosla's son Kanhoji became Senasaheb Subha and came to Berar and captured Darwha in Berar. He then made Bhamb as his headquarters. He was described as cruel (see Bhosla's Bakhar p. 38, by Kale).

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us the accounts of the six Subhās with details of income in each Paraganā, in the Deccan. There are stamp seals of Dhumanji on each paper at its joint and the manuscripts are genuine. Atrocities committed by Kanhoji Bhonsla on Dhumanji and others find place in these documents as below :—

"Starting from Shahu at Satara, Kanhoji came to Berar with his large army. He demanded Rs. 1,102/- per year from Dhumanji who could not pay the ransom and was therefore compelled to sign an agreement to pay. Dhumanji did comply ; but Kanhoji captured him, put chains in his hands and feet and moved him in the Basti causing him great insult. Kanhoji captured all his Gadhis at Pārwā, Kārli, Shiwani and Pandharkawada along with arms and guns etc. All family and children were captured and the headquarters at Rajurwadi, Donwada and Deodari were completely looted. The family and children were handed over to one Janaji of Hirakpur Sarkonda, Pra. Guranj and Dhumanji was imprisoned and confined in the Gadhi at Kolambi for about 5 months. After serious harrassment he was removed to Morchandi, in Māhur Sarakar, and again confined there. Dhumanji at last paid Rs. 20,000/- as ransom, but he was not released, though Kanhoji had promised to do so. Bandegan Ali's army happened to march towards that side at that time while Raghuji Bhonsala's Naib Naru Appa marched down from Satara to warn Kanhoji. Ultimately the famous battle at Mandar (near Wani) (1730 A.D.) decided the fate of Kanhoji who was captured by Raghuji Bhonsala and taken prisoner to Satara, and Dhumanji was released. Bandegan Ali, Khairulla Khan and Bahadur Killedar Fausdar of Mahur also joined to help Dhumanji and they together defeated the remaining army of Kanhoji which was stationed in the Gadhis at Malakapur and Patan-Bori. Two three years later, Kanhoji returned and with the help of Bandegan Ali stayed at Kolambi." This information is new and opens altogether a new chapter in the history of the Marāthās.

Shankarao Rao :

He is said to have put down some revolts of the Gonds and Banjaras, but there are no papers to support this view.

Yeshwantrao (1230 F—1239 F.) :

There are two documents of Yeshwantrao's period. The first dated 1230F, signed by Yeshwantrao and the other of Ch.16 Jullhej 1239F. His son Dattaji died during his life time (1828 A.D.). It was during the time of Yeshwantrao that Bajirao the second was defeated at the battle at Sioni on 2-4-1818. Thereafter Bajirao took to flight through many villages in Berar. At that time Yeshwantrao was probably the Deshmukh at Pandharkewada near the battle place. While Bajirao was on his flight he had stopped at Deulgaon

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Raja. On one of the valuable garlands of the deity Shrie Bālāji, the name of Bajirao Peshawe is inscribed. There is also one Pāṇḍān left by him at Umarakhed which is in charge of Shri, Balawantrao and Nagorao Ekabote of Umarkhed. There are papers to show that he had run short of his food supply and he had to receive foodstuff from the Mahant of Shikhar at Mahur.

Nagorao II (1843-1860 A.D.)

Nagorao was minor when his father Dattaji died in 1828. He appears to have seen very bad days and his financial[14] position appears to be at its worst during the first few years of his career. Kelapur Paragana was under the Nizam as his sarf-i-khas. Nagorao had to pay Rs. 10,501/- for the year 1843, Rs. 10,751/- for 1844 and Rs. 11,101/- for 1845. He had no money to pay the heavy debt of Aban Saheb the mukhatiar of the Nizam and Taluqdar and the result was, he was put in Civil jail while at Hyderabad, for about 4 to 6 months.

The correspondence between Nagorao and his Vakil at Hyderabad, clearly shows that Nagorao's position was extremely critical and pitiable. To add fuel to fire, Madhorao, his uncle, had started dispute regarding the Watan since 1854 A.D. Madhorao was a great aggressor and he committed various acts of looting and arsony.

Appa's revolt (1848-49)

In 1848, an imposter[9] who pretended to be Appa Saheb Ex-Raja of Nagpur, arose in the Kelapur side. He collected large army of about 4,000 men and wanted to attack Amraoti city. The rebels plundered and ravished wherever they went. The British forces pursued him and in May 1849, attacked his party near Kalamb, and the rebels were driven off. But the Brigadier Onslow died on the field from a fall from his horse. Later on, Brigadier Hampton came up and after a spirited action, captured the imposter, who was sent to Nagpur to Raghuji III, where he was properly punished. Nagorao had rendered very valuable help to the British during this revolt. Brigadier Hampton's letter D/- 28th November 1849, addressed to Nagorap in Modi, has been carefully kept in the records. Nagorao was called to Hingoli to receive his reward for his assistance; but he could not go. The reward, in the form of a beautiful palanquin, was granted to Nagorao through his peon Syed Hussain at the camp Arvi-Ashti on 21-5-1855.

9. The name of this imposter appears to be "*Ragho Bharati*" from the manuscripts.

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This trophy has been maintained by the family and is publicly exhibited on the Dashera day every year.

Rohillas' revolt (1851):

There was another rebellion led by one Parwatrao who had collected about 2000 armed Rohillas under him. It took about five to six years to completely put down this revolt. There are many letters concerning this revolt. It is a sad and painful story of looting, and ravaging the country everywhere. Murders[10] and arsony were common. Birtish army from Hingoli had to come with some guns under Captain Yenag, who had the credit of putting down this rebel gang.

Dacoits in the Province (1820 to 1865 A.D.):

History of this tract of Berar consists of rebellions and revolts and dacoities for about thirty to forty years. The dacoits burnt the villages, looted money and committed murders with impunity. They looted even the cattle. This happened on large scale towards Mahur, Adilabad Kelāpur side. The serious dacoity which took place at Risod on 23-2-1859 is notorious. There are scores of letters[11] describing the pitiable state of the common people in these days. The Deshmukhs took great pains to put down the rebels, and helped the British, as Berar was transferred to them in 1853. It is most interesting and instructive to study the social and political conditions in Berar, during this period. There is invaluable mine of material[12] available in the records.

Nagorao had seen bad days, but he was not a man to give up. He had seen the administration of the Nizam as well as that of the British. His incessant efforts to improve the condition of his family triumped in the end. His financial position gradually improved. With the break of War of American Independence, the prices of cotton and other commodities went up, and the agriculturists were naturally placed in better position. Nagorao was a man of very noble and religious mind. He gave out sums of money in charity. There are many letters which show that he gave out thousands of rupees in charity. Gifts to 1. Kashinath Bhat Dixit, 2. Gurumurti Sundar[13] Bharati of Shikhar at

10. See collection of MSS (1) Nagorao's Kayafiyat D/- 1851 A. D., (2) Shioram Patel of Kurali was murdered. (3) Two Vakils of Abansaheb the, Naib Peshkar, were arrested and imprisoned. (4) Villages of Kayar, (2) Bodhan, Bori, Vela, Rajur were looted and cattle stolen away.

11. Letter D/-1852. There was a mass migration of people into the tract under the "English rule."

12. Lala Shaligram's letter D/- 3-5-1858, regarding the dacoity of Mahodari by Gonds. (Tahsildar, Wani) Gonds, Banjaris, Labhanis, Kolis and Rohillas were the prominent persons in the Gang of looters.

13. Letter D/-Kartik Vadya 10, San F. 1260, (1850). The seal on the letter reads "Shri, Dattatraya Charan Saroj Niwasi Shri, Guru Murti Sundar Bharati Mahant S. Shikhar.

Mahur and 8. Ṣantosh Bharati are some of the instances. The festival of God Ganesh at Pārwā is widely known in Berar. It was started in the year 1831, by Dhumanji and it was carried to its highest pitch by Nagorao; and even the present Trimbak Rao *alias* Aba Saheb Deshmukh celebrate this festival on a very large and attractive scale, when dinner is served to the beggars and Dakshanā and gifts distributed to the learned Brahmins and the Jangams.

The Tax known as "Raj Beti":

There are '*Yādis*' in the record showing that the said Tax was levied in some cases of re-marriages. If the husband of one's daughter dies, the girl became the daughter of the "King." One who offers to remarry her is required to pay tax for the girl. If there are more than one offers for the girl, she would actually be auctioned and the highest bidder would get her possession on payment of this Tax "Raj-Beti." Such marriages were held in particular castes *e.g.* Dhiwar, Kalar, Koshti and Mahar (in Zadi). There is a paper dated 1240F (1830 A.D.) in which a Dhangar girl was married by "Pāt" and he paid Rs. 22/- out of which Rs. 6/- were paid to the Deshmukh and Deshpande and the rest were credited to the Government treasury.

Private Mints:

It seems that there were private mints where gold and silver bullion were supplied to the Goldsmith who used to manufacture coins. There is a written complaint in records against one "Sonar" regarding his dishonesty in such minting.

Anand Rao:

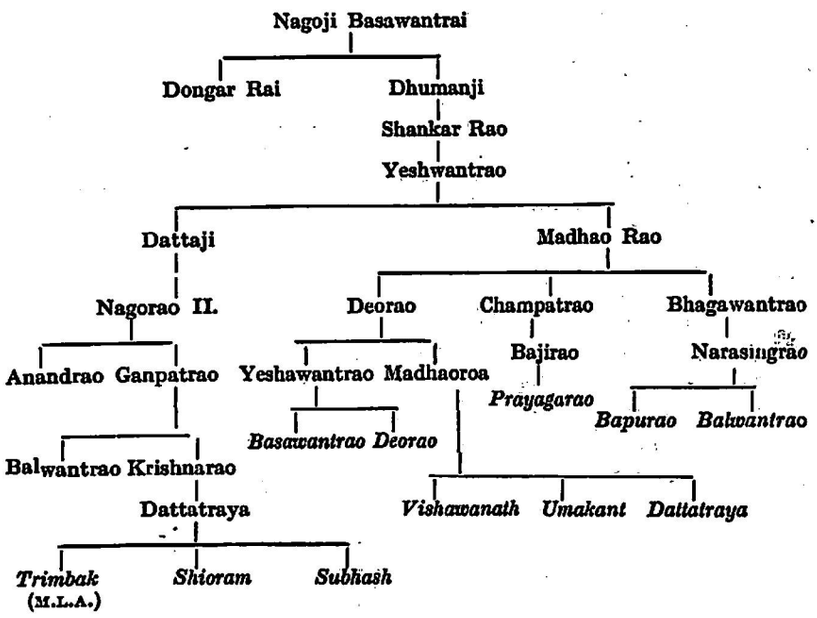
After Nagorao's death Anandrao and Ganpatrao his sons came in office. There is a document of 1860, which gives the details of various sanads and Inams received from Aurangzeb and also the names of recipients and all servants who worked under the Deshmukhs. Anandrao was of active habits. All the Inam sanads were renewed in his name in the year 1864 A.D. He was helped by one Sambhashio of Guranj in his affairs. There are also documents to show that the relations between the Mahant of Mahur and Anandrao were very cordial. Letters from Banaras, from Sidha Linga-Swami, throw light on the noble character and religious mindedness of Anandrao.

Balwantrao and Saraswati Bai:

Anandrao had no son and Balwantrao died a minor. But the entire affairs were ably managed by the lady Saraswati Bai, who rose to the occasion. Balwantrao died issueless. Another famous and able member of the family, was Krishna Rao. He consolidated his position.

and earned name for his great family. With the help from his assistants and guidance of Saraswati Bai, he established himself not only as a great and noble man but also as one of the wealthiest landlords in Vidarbha. He took up the affairs in his hand in the year 1892. After him, Rao Bahadur Dattatraya managed the affairs. Krishnarao had to face many disputes regarding partition of his estates between the various branches of the Deshmukh family, particularly Madhaorao's sons Deorao Champatrao and Bhagwantrao bitterly fought for the shares in this tremendously large estate. Dattatraya carried on ably and was the most popular of the members. His son Shri Trimbakrao *alias* Abasaheb is now in charge of the said estate. He is a great lover of education and takes active part in the politics of the Province. He is an M.L.A. and is a successful statesman. Being a graduate, it is hoped that he would take up the most useful work of publishing the old manuscripts in his possession for the use of the public. It is most unfortunate that such a historic family should remain in the dark for such a long time.

Geneaology:



They are the working members of different branches of Deshmush family.

14. Dispute between Ganpat Pandurang Deshpande (the grandfather of the famous Marathi poet and critic Wamanrao Deshpande) and Nagorao for Deshmukhi and Deshpandyepan was amicably settled, in 1258f. (1848). Two shares were given to Deshmukhs and one to the Deshpande. (See MSS).

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THE FUNCTIONING OF SOME OF THE PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL OFFICIALS OF THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT —BASED ON A DASTUR-UL-AMAL OF THE 18TH CENTURY

SHRI QEYAM UDDIN AHMAD

THE comparative abundance of Persian chronicles relating to the political history of the Mughal period is in marked contrast to the peculiar dearth of any first-hand information on the administrative set-up of that Empire. From Babar to Aurangzebe we have separate and specific works on their respective reigns, besides the valuable autobiographies of some of them. Each one of them had an official historian of his own who has described the events of the reign of his patron in considerable detail. Most of these works are, however, conspicuously lacking in mentioning matters of administration. Perhaps that was considered a separate topic deserving a separate treatment. Whatever may be the reason, the position is that works on administration which have come down to us are few and far between. It is therefore all the more important that the few which have come down to us should be thoroughly studied and utilised for the reconstruction of the administrative set-up.

By their very nature the works on administration are bound to be of a descriptive type. They describe the standard rules and regulations of the various departments and the duties of the respective officers in charge. The functioning of these government officials is expected to be up to this standard. It is true that some of the officials did not act according to the standard laid down, but some did, and it is hardly a fair criticism of a work on administration to say that it described an ideal which was not enforced in practice. The appraisal of the extent of the enforcement of these administrative rules, at some given time or place, does not come within the purview of such works. It is possible that some instances of dereliction of duties by officers may be quoted but for all we know there may be many more instances to the contrary— of conscientious officers acting up to the fixed standard. It is also to be noted that the attention of the contemporary or later historians is usually drawn to abnormal cases, where the unexpected happens, or where some censurable act takes place. When an official acts as he is

expected to, that is assumed as the normal thing for him to do. But if he acts to the contrary it is commented on and hence there are more references to cases of dereliction of duties by officials than to the contrary. This general consideration should be borne in mind before judging the merits of a work on administration.

The MS.[1] under review is entitled Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Salatin-Hind. The name of the author is not given. It has preface and begins with a list of contents. It is written in ordinary Taliq. At the end of the MS. there is a seal dated 1238 A.H., of Mirza Raziuddin, son of Mirza Muhammad Muazzam Ali, son of Mirza Jahandar Shah heir apparent of Muhammad Bahadur Shah. The catalogue wrongly ascribes the copy to the 19th century. However on (F.45b.) while describing the establishment of Fasli era in Akbar's time and computing the difference between the Hijri and Fasli eras the author mentions the current Hijri year as 1180 = 1766 A.D. In another connection the author mentions the current period as the 10th Julus (of Shah Alam II) or 1769 A.D. The author again refers (F.54) to the current year as 1188 A.H. This shows that the compilation was spread over a long period. But, in any case, it belonged to the 18th and not 19th century.

Professor Sri Ram Sharma included this MS. in his survey[2] of works on administration. But owing probably to the limitation of pages and the large number of works he had to review, he confined himself to a page-wise enumeration of the contents of the work, without going into its details.

The work which seems to have been compiled from official manuals and records contains instructions regarding the duties of officials, the forms of appointment of some of them, direction for proper management of taxes and land revenues, forms of keeping public accounts, returns of income and expenditure, grants of different kind and various other statistical details.

In the present paper only the first part of the MS. (ff. 15-28) has been examined. This portion describes the functioning of some of the Provincial and local officials. I have given below a free translation of some selected portions relating to the appointment and functioning of the Faujdar, Karori, Waqai Nigar, Huzur Navis, Mustaufi and the officials of the Karkhanas. Much is already known to us about the workings of some of these officials from other works on administration. There are, however, certain distinguishing features of the MS. under review. Along with the duties of some of these officials it mentions a list of paper maintained in their offices and of those which

1. Ff. 168. Lines 18-27, Size 14¼" × 8¼"; 12¼" × 6".
2. *IHRC*, Proceedings, vol. XV, 1938, pp. 146-158.

they were expected to forward to their higher officers. The list of these papers gives us an exact idea of the actual working of the department and the officer concerned as distinct from the general enumeration of his duties. It also gives draft specimens of appointment orders and reports, that an officer had to submit, along with instances from current day affairs by way of illustration.

Sanad of Appointment of Faujdar :

Whereas in obedience to the Exalted Order the services of Faujdari of Pargana.....[3] Province.....is conferred on.....in place of.....he should exert himself to the utmost in the performance of the duties appertaining to this office, with honesty and efficiency; he should devote himself to the protection of the law-abiding rent payers, the chastisement of trouble makers and destruction of their forts. He should forbid the blacksmiths from constructing matchlocks, but to devote themselves to other works (of manufacture), instruct the various thanadars appointed by him, within his Faujdari, for maintaining law and order, not to interfere in revenue affairs and not to levy any of the forbidden cesses. He should extend adequate precaution to see that no one indulges in any of the forbidden acts, instruct all the jagirdars, in writing, not to chastise any of the villager on their own. He should take in his own charge such village which are turbulent and try, first, to conciliate and pacify the leading men of that village so that they may feel ashamed of their actions and bring themselves to the prompt payment of revenues; in case they reform themselves he should take a deed of agreement (Razinama) to that effect from the Gumashtas of the Jagirdars, but if on account of their inherent cupidity and lawlessness they should again resort to turbulence, to chastise them and whatever booty may be collected from them it should be deposited with the Gumashta of the Jagirdars and a receipt obtained for it. He should so maintain peace and order that travellers may move about peacefully and there should be no trace of theft or arson anywhere; if God forbidding some one's property is stolen, he should find out the stolen article, restore it to the owner and punish the performer of this evil act, and in case of his not being able to trace out the stolen property to be held responsible for it.

The Aumils, Chaudhris, Qanungoes, Zamindars and ryots of the said Mahal (area) considering the above named person as the permanent Faujdar accept the perquisites and appartunancies of the said office as belonging to him, and accept his strong hand (?) in the performance of these duties. They should not go beyond his approval and advice which are conducive of good administration.

3. The Sanad of appointment is a model sepcimen and so these particulars are left blank.

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Parwana of the Service of Karor-Bandi:

The service of Karor-bandi[4] of Pargana.....as per endorsement, is conferred with effect from Fasil .....year.....on Ramdas, the emblem of honour, in place of.....They (the Mutasaddees etc.) should consider the above named person as the permanent Karori of that Mahal and should not act contrary to his advice and approval which are conjoined to the benefit and advantage of Government and well-being of the ryots. They should accept his sway in the execution of matters relating to this office.

The above named person should perform the duties, appertaining to his office, with honesty and diligence, keep the ryots happy and contented with his treatment and devote himself to the increase of cultivation and habitation; collect the juma, assessed by Amin, year by year and deposit it in full, in time without any alteration in the fixed instalments. If there be an arrear of a single Dam, with any one, he should consider himself answerable for it; he should deposit the money received, from day to day, in the treasury house[5] to be sealed by Amin and guarded by him along with Amin, Daroga and Fotahdar. He should not spend a single Dam without a proper order authorising expenditure; he should not collect any of the forbidden cesses which are producive of the ruination of ryots. He should submit the daily statements and consolidated accounts of income and expenditure as required by the office of Diwani, duly corrected and according to the established procedure. The matter should be treated as urgent and important.

Deed of Agreement[6] *with the Karori's Seal*:

I.....am the son of.....Whereas the service of Karorbandi of Pargana.....with effect from.....has been conferred on me I hereby agree to collect, to the last Dam, the jumma assessed by the Amin and send it to the Treasury. I shall not leave a Dam in arrear. The amount collected shall be deposited, daily, in the Treasury of the Fotahdar and I shall guard its lock and seal along with the Amin, Daroga and Fotahdar. I shall not collect a Dam, by force, over the stipulated amount, shall keep the ryots happy and contented with my treatment and shall strive for the increase of cultivation and habitation. I shall

4. The Karori was a revenue official, for collecting land-revenue and other Govt. taxes. He was so-called because originally, in Akbar's time, he was appointed to hold charge of an area expected to yield roughly one Krore of Dams. The designation continued even in later times independent of the total amount of collection under his charge.

5. Besides the Imperial and Provincial treasuries there were a large number of local ones. This probably refers to one of the latter.

6. The post of Karori, it appears, was a covenanted one. His order of appointment laid down certain terms and he, in his turn, executed a document agreeing to those terms.

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not perform any of the forbidden acts and I shall differentiate (keep separate accounts of the proceeds of) Nankar and Inam[7] land from those of Aiyma lands till the receipt of the Sanad (to that effect) from the Diwani. I shall charge Sirisad @ 1% as collection charge.....and submit, accordingly to the established rules the statements and accounts of income and expenditure, required by the office of Diwani. I shall forward, whenever the amount, (in the local treasury) increases to Rs. 1000/-.

These few sentences are given in writing by way of agreement, so that they may be of some use when required.

On reachng the Pargana the Karori demands the following papers from the Qanungoes:

1. List of the villages and the Decennial Comparative estimate (of crop yields?). 2. Regulations of the Fotah-Khana and Talbana. 3. Copy of previous rent rolls, Register of Mahal-bandi, copy of collection and arrear of revenue and cesses, papers relating to Aiyma land. 4. List of persons coming to the village. 5. Papers of securities for personal appearance and money securities. 6. Abstracts of Dehbandi, signed by Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 7. Papers relating to cesses and account of income and expenditure of Fotahdar, signed by him. 8. Copy of statement of collection and arrear sent to Huzur.[8]

The clerks of the Karori's office check the following papers and send them, according to the established procedure to the office of Diwani:

1. Account books of the income of Fotahdar. Also correct the diaries signed and submitted by Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 2. Account of the standing balance in the Treasury, Abstracts of income and expenditure of Fotahdar. 3. Papers relating to Nankar grants. 4. Statement of cultivation and villages. 5. Consolidated account of income and expenditure. 6. Statement of *Aiyma* and *Madad Maash* lands,[9] list of Framans, Parwanas, etc. 7. Check the security bonds with papers relating to securities for personal appearance and money. 8. Copies of Qabuliat (Agreement) deeds, rent roll and

7. Nankar, Inaam and Aiyma were different denominations of grants of rent-free tenures. Nankar was an assignment as subsistence money to fiscal and village officers. Inaam was a grant of rent-free land in charity or reward for some service. Aiyma was also a grant of rent free-land (or with a small nominal rent) to learned and religious persons of Muslim faith or for charitable purposes. The terms are often loosely used to signify any grant of rent-free land.

8. Huzur is a general term of respect signifying usually the Imperial presence, but also an intermediate higher authority, in some cases.

9. Grants of land for subsistence or assignment of revenue for religious or charitable purposes.

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previous assessment of Amin. 9. Prices of grains signed by the Censor of Public Morals. 10. Paper relating to summons and fees. Letters to and from officers.

Waqai Nigar[10]:

The Waqai Nigar should be a man of understanding and honesty. He should be present, day and night, in the Durbar and Kutcheri (court) of the Subedar, Faujdar and Amanat Shaar (Amin ?), keep himself conversant with the as sessment and collection of the Mahals, standing balance in the government treasury, judgment of the Qazis; and prepare a Report, without any alternation or omission, and submit it weekly to the Exalted Presence (Huzur). Important events and emergencies should be reported forthwith.

Draft Specimen of Waqai-Nigar's Report:

Waqai of Pargana.....Day.....The Amanat Panah arrived at the Kutcheri after the day entered the 4th Ghari[11]; the office staff, also presenting themselves, started work.

So and so of village.....presented himself and in conformity with ....., the Qanungoe, settled the fixation of the yearly Jumma (from Kharif to Rabi) of the said village.

Other items deserving the attention of Huzur should be entered item by item. Credits to the Treasury should be written in detail and reported fortnightly.

Huzur Navis[12] *of Mahals*:

Huzur Navis should be constantly present with the Nazim and Faujdar, report on the general department of office-staff, complaint-petitions in courts, acquittals and imprisonments, deposits and withdrawals in government treasury, collection of revenue from Mahals, cesses like Peshkash, Tahniat Nazar, Mehmani Jarimana, Shakrana, census of cattle, dates of commencement of tours and places of camping,

10. Waqai Nigar (or Waqai Navis) and Sawanih Nigar were two different officials whose nature of work was also different. The former was a regular and public reporter of general affairs and was posted in large town and with field armies. The latter was a secret reporter posted at special places and times only. This is also evident from the fact that copies of the report of the former were kept in office of Mustaufi, *vide* p. 9.

11. Ghari and Pahar were units of the measurement of time; 1 Ghari = 24 minutes and 1 pahar = 8 hours, approximately. 4th Ghari of the day will be about one and half hour after sunrise.

12. *Huzur Navis* appears to be a sort of general reporter attached to some local official. It is difficult to distinguish exactly between the Waqai Nigar and Huzur Navis as their duties appear to be more or less the same. There was yet another officer, in the category of News reporters, called Baramad Navis, whose Sanad of appointment, enumerating his duties is given on F. 28.

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the yield of that village (where camped), its fort and its conquest, suppression of evil doers and destruction of their strongholds, employment of zamindars, promotion and demotion of functionaries, enquiries into and judgment on matters relating to civil and revenue affairs judgment of Qazis, realisation of demands, correspondence with other officers, dismissal and retrenchments, employment of retainers, branding of horses of old as well as newly appointed horsemen, death and escape of servants, casualties among horsemen and Piyadas (Infantry) in battle, award to servants etc.; he should enter such occurrences to be sent to Huzur, and sign it.

Specimen Report:

On the day entering the 4th ghari the march from village Muhabatabad was commenced and after travelling a distance covering six gharies (about 2½ hours) encamped, at about noon, in the garden of Fathabad near the tank. At the commencement of the journey and during the way the following presented themselves and offered Nazars.

At the Commencement of Journey:

Mukrund Singh zamindar of Mauza.....presented a Nazar of 2 Asharfis and 50 rupees. 2. The Vakil of Shahdad Khan Qasuri presented his client's petition and a Nazar of 100 rupees.

In the Way:

Udho Singh brother of Bhaya Singh of Mauza.....presented himself and offered a (tanghan ?) horse and Rs. 100/-. 2. Fath Khan Jamadar, resident of Shahabad presented himself and offered a set of bow and arrows. He was asked as to why he did not present his men for review, on the way.

On entering the Camp:

1. Guman Singh, Qanungo of Fathabad presented himself and offered a Nazar of 2 Asharfis, two Bahngis of yellow oil (Ghee) and five... 2. .....Mirdah of Dak, brought the Dak from the city and presented the post-bag along with a rupee.

Orders:

1. Ahmed Beg brother of Zaman Beg, Faujdar and Aamil (?) of Pargana Fathabad was in attendance during the march. He was told that it did not speak good of administration if recently desolated villages, appeared by the road side, and that he should gather together the dispersed tenants and resettle them. 2. Justice was dispensed to residents of village.....who had complained against the oppression of the Aamil

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of that place. Wazarat Panah (?) Saheb Singh was arrested, and it was ordered that another Aamil be appointed. Sazawals (bailiffs) were appointed to bring the oppressor before Huzur.

(Next day). On the day of entering the 4th ghari, court was held by the side of the tank and the officers and staff presented themselves.

1. Kant Singh Vakilzada submitted his client's petition and offered four guns. 2. Wazarat Panah Daya Ram Diwan of Huzur read the letters of Nawab Shujauddaula (of Oudh) and Salar Jung. 3. Ahmed Beg Bakshi of army presented the men of Fath Khan Jamadar's tribe for review. Thirty-two additional horsemen were appointed.

Mustaufi[13]:

The Mustaufi has been said to be the conciliator of conflicting claims (auditor ?). He should keep in order the audit papers of all important matters, avoid dishonesty and pettiness which may in any way be detrimental to the interest of the government. He should not, out of vanity and cupidity, do anything which may cause unnecessary hardship to the Aamils.

He should receive the required papers sealed by Aamil and signed by Chaudhries, Qanungoes and Fotahdar of that place, and (the papers) of Karkhanas.[14] If there be any overwriting or cuttings (in the papers) to check it and compare it, compare the paper with the list, peruse it and forward them.....Repayment of outstanding amounts, with anyone, should be preferably demanded in cash, otherwise he should receive bond or money security from him and demand repayment accordingly.

Office Papers (of Mustaufi):

1. Diary and Account book of income accruing from land revenue and cesses, sealed by Amin and signed by the Fotahdar, Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 2. Abstracts of land rent and cesses sealed by Amin and signed by Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 3. Consolidated account of income and expenditure of the Treasury signed by Fotahdar. 4. Price list, sealed by Censor of Public Morals. 5. Statement of Assessment of Jumma, sealed and signed by Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 6. Qabuliyats (deed of Agreement) of ryots signed by Chaudhries and Qanungoes and sealed by Qazis. 7. Sheets of land revenue and cesses signed by

13. An examiner or auditor of accounts, the principal officer of the department in which, under the Mughal Govt. the accounts of collectors or farmers of revenue examined. He had some additional duties also as is evidenced from a list of the papers maintained in his office.

14. Karkhanas had their own separate set of Daroghas, Mushrifs and Amins, as distinct from officers of the same designation in the general administrative units. This is also evident from the description of the working of the Karkhanas, *vide* p. 10.

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Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 8. Papers relating to Kankut and Bhaoli tenures. 9. Statements of Waqai Nigar. 10. Copies of Farman, Sanads, Parwans and Petitions. 11. Dastur-ul-Amal and Amal Dasturs.[15] 12. Papers relating to bails for personal appearance and money securities. 13. Papers relating to Madad Maash (lands). 14. Diaries and daily account books of each Karkhanas sealed by Amin, Daroga and Mushrif of Kharkhanas. 15. Abstracts (of papers) of each Karkhanas sealed by Amin, Daroga and Mushrif (of Karkhana). 16. Diary, Account book and abstracts of income and expenditure of Treasury (of Karkhana ?) sealed by Amin and Daroga.

Mir-i-Saman and Diwan Buyutah[16] :

Whatever is reported by Mushrifs (clerk) of Karkhanas to be required there, he (Khan-i-Saman) should supply it or order the Mushrif to do so. Diwan-i-Buyutab forwards the requirements of Karkhanas to the Mir-i-Saman with a request to supply it. He administers the Karkhana in accordance with the rules and regulations and in co-operation with the Khan-i-Saman.

Office papers of Mir-i-Saman and Diwan-i-Buyutah :

Salaries, wages and allowances of apprentices.....2. Collection (?) of Tahwildars, present and rewards. 3. List of articles present in Karkhanas. 4. Diaries of Mushrif of each Karkhanas. 5. Daily statement of Treasuries. 6. Statement of income and expenditure of Tahwildars of each Karkhana should be yearly. 7. Price list of articles, duly sealed. 8. Six monthly statement of the output of the Karkhanas should be submitted by Mushrifs to the office of Diwan-i-Buyutat...(?)

Amins, Darogahs and Mushrifs of Karkhanas :

Daroghas are appointed for administration. If there are Mushrifs (appointed) also in that city, they are higher than Daroghas. The Daroghas, Mushrifs and Tahwildars should all strive not to deviate from the path of honesty and rectitude and always to keep in view the betterment and promotion of Government's interests. They should perform all their duties with devotion and act according to the regulations given by the Khan-i-Saman under his signature. They should accept (act upon) what is in accordance with the regulations and draw the attention of Diwan to that which is beyond it and act (in such cases)

15. Dastur-ul-Amal contained administrative rules and regulations. These were often supplemented by Amal Dasturs or Qanungoes papers in which orders superseding those of Dastur Amal were registered.

16. *Mir-i-Saman and Diwan-i-Buyutat* were high ranking officials of the Imperial Household. One of their multivarious duties was the administering of the Karkhanas, arranging their supplies (of raw materials stores, etc.), appointing and supervising of their staff, etc.

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according to his (Diwan's) written order. They should submit the diaries, signed by Mushrifs and sealed by Daroghas to the Mustaufi so that the auditing is completed daily. The following is the list of office papers:

1. Dastur-ul-Amal bearing the seal of the officer concerned. 2. Price list and statement of cash and articles, duly sealed. 3. Copies of Parwans, letters....4. Statement of things present in the Karkhanas. 5. Daily statements. 6. Abstracts of income and expenditure. 7. Receipt of articles either given to Tahwildars or received from them. 8. Casualty list of horses (of the stable).[17] 9. List of purchases and sales. 10. List of essential articles.

There are Thirty-six[18] *Karkhanas as of old*:

1. Bawarchi Khana (Kitchen). 2. Rikab Khana, Achar Khana (Pantry, Pickles). 3. Abdar Khana (Drinks store or butlery). 4. Toshak Khan (Wardrobe and Mattresses). 5. Jawahir Khana (Jewellery store). 6. Zargar Khana (Goldsmith's Deptt.). 7. Qur-Khana (Royal Insignias). Khusbhu Khana (Perfumeries section). 9. Ibtiagh Khana (Ibtiya Khana?) (Purchase Deptt.). 10. Dawai Khana (Medical store or hospital). 11. Kirkiraqi Khana (Jewelled ware's Deptt.?) 12. Kitab Khana (Library). 13. Imarat Khana (Building's Deptt.) 14. Top Khana (Artillery). 15. Astabal-o-Ushtur Khana (Stables of Horses and Camels). 16. Fil Khana (Elephant's stable). 17. Chita Khana (Leopards). 18. Ahu Khana (Deer Park). 19. Barbari Khana (?) 20. Farash Khana (Carpet's store). 21. Mashal Khana (Torches, Lamps, etc.). 22. Chithi Khana (Correspondence section). 23. Zin Khana (Saddles). 24. Ilaqabandi Khana (Factories for silk cords and tapes). 25. Sukhsej Khana (Bedding stores?). 26. Pashmina Khana (Woollen stores). 27. Zardoz Khana (Gold embroidery). 28. Khatimband Khana (Setting of rings, inlaying, etc.). 29. Sufidbaf Khana (some weaving section?).

17. The Persian word used is Saqtinama which means a casualty list of horses that have died in the cavalry but since the papers relate to the office of Karkhanas the term probably applies to horses of royal stable.

18. There is some difference about the number of Karkhanas at different times. Originally, in Firuz Tughlaq's time, there were 36, but some later MSS. mention more names. The present list mentions only 30 names out of which one is illegible. Some of the names mentioned do not correspond with the usual names given in other lists (e.g. Nos. 19, 25 and 29). Some of the familiar names are absent for the obvious reason that the list is incomplete. The list is a mixed one both of Karkhanas (factories); which were manufacturing workshops of one kind or another as well as Imperial stores (e.g. Nos. 1, 3, etc.), which were not correctly speaking Karkhanas.

PART PLAYED BY JIJABAI, THE MOTHER OF SHIVAJI IN THE FOUNDATION OF THE MARATHA STATE

PROFESSOR R. V. OTURKAR

THIS IS a study based upon sources of Maratha History published from time to time in several volumes. References to Jijabai contained in those volumes were culled and put together with the object of estimating her achievements. This attempt revealed to me that she was not simply a mother that gave good training to her illustrious son, but she actually participated in a variety of activities concerning the administration of the Maratha State. Popular History books tell us that Jijabai told young Shivaji stories from Ramayana and Mahabharata and thus provided for his training, the basic foundation of the love of Hindu culture. This is true so far as it goes; but the extent of her activities covered a field wider still.

Born in 1596, she was married to Shahaji in 1610. Her early life was full of vicissitudes. She had seen her father and husband working at cross purposes and on occasions she had to participate in military marches from one place to another. She was a woman of mature judgment when Shivaji was born, and even before Shivaji came of age and started his activities, she had the opportunity to acquaint herself with the problems of administration in the Poona Jahagir. By the time Shivaji started his activities independently, say from 1647 *i.e.* after the death of Dadaji Kondadeva, she was over 50 years old. One can imagine the kind of relationship that must have existed between the old mother and her young son. Shivaji was constantly engaged in military activities and had little time to settle a number of affairs requiring careful attention. Upon whom could he rely except upon his mother under whose affectionate care he had grown to be a youth of vision and understanding? The original papers published so far, only substantiate the legitimate guess that Jijabai must have been of great help to Shivaji in his work of administration. What follows is a summary reproduction of various instances in which Jijabai played her part.

(1) *1651 A.D.* Jijabai writes to the officers of Poona that Inam of the land at Veherwade (वेहरवडे) is renewed to one Gano Gabaji Tabib and the officers need not wait for, or expect another letter from

Chiranjiv Raje *i.e.* Shivaji. The letter is in Modi, the *facsimile* of which has been published in the B.I.S. Mandal Quarterly as early as in 1920. The words ' officers need not wait for another letter from Shivaji ' are really significant of the powers she assumed or were entrusted to her.

(2) In a quarrel between the rival worshippers at Jejuri temple the writer says ' our dispute reached Shivaji, whereupon Jijabai asked—Shivaji may have been presumably absent—' What is your quarrel about?' The cause of the quarrel was then stated. Thereupon Jijabai said to the Gurav *i.e.*, the worshipper at the temple. ' Since you claim the five pieces of cloth, and the claim is in dispute, you return them to the treasury for the present and the remaining three pieces of cloth may be taken over equally by you, three coparceners of the Watan. Here Jijabai is only temporarily suspending the point of dispute and postponing its final decision. (Shiva Charitra Sahitya, vol. VII, p. 87).

(3) While capturing Purandhar, Shivaji went to the fort with Jijabai first for the celebration of Diwali and then as is understood for the sudden capture of Purandhar by first imprisoning Nilojirao and then capturing Shankarrao Sarnaik, through whose intercession Shivaji had gone to the fort. This incident is narrated in a paper of the year 1674, but must have taken place near about the year 1647. (Patrasara Sangraha, vol. III, letter 2747).

(4) In another paper there is a reference to a suit between the two rival parties Babaji Junzarrao Deshmukh of Kānadkhore and Bhau Maloji Patangrao, regarding a claim to a Watan to be finally decided by Jijabai. She looked into the old papers and she learnt that the Gōt or the kinsmen Panchayat had divided the Vritti (*i.e.*, a vatan for religious purposes) between the two. Jijabai considered the claims of both and asked Babaji to give a larger share to Maloji, to meet the claims of justice. (Rajwade, vol. 16, letter 22). The incident belongs to the year 1667.

(5) In a letter of the year 1668 Jijabai wrote to Vithoji Haibatrao Deshmukh of Gunjan Maval, ' Haibatrao is reported to have gone away through fear of danger to his life.' Before doing so he had reported to Moropant Peshwa that as he had not been in a position to perform his administrative duties of the region (Desagat as it is called) he would nominate his Mutalik *i.e.* representative for the performance of his duties'. Jijabai further writes, ' since the letter has been received, I am sending herewith a letter of assurance that Mutalik would be allowed to work out the Desagat from time to time and the dues of your privileged services would be assigned to you. Government wishes you all happiness and you need not fear any ill at the hands of the Central Power'. From this illustration it will be seen that Jijabai not

only handled judicial problems but also attended to executive duties, particularly those where settlement is to be created and confidence restored. A newly rising power has to conquer, consolidate and create confidence amongst those who are trying to adjust themselves to the new rule with an uneasy mind. Jijabai with her years feminine qualities and dignified bearing was eminently fitted to take up this work which was complementary to one which Shivaji had undertaken. (Patrasara Sangraha, No. 1206).

(6) Here is another instance worthy of note.

In a letter of the year 1668, Jijabai wrote to Babaji Ramdesh Kulkarni, paragane Poona: 'It is reported that you are raising trouble about the limits and boundaries of the land belonging to one Mukund Kanhoji.....' Further having described the nature of the mischief as was reported to her, Jijabai warns, 'if you create unnecessary troubles in this manner, you should well remember that Chiranjiv (i.e. Shivaji) would make no personal consideration in the performance of his duty and would inflict punishment upon the miscreant. Know this well and create no unnecessary trouble'. Babaji Ramdesh very probably must have been an elderly person of long standing and also a Brahmin who usually was treated with consideration according to the standards of that age. Jijabai wanted to warn that neither age, nor caste, nor dignity would stand in the way of punishing the wrong-doer and executing justice. (Patrasara Sangraha, letter No. 1234).

(7) Another letter of the year 1669 is still more interesting. Jijabai writes to Vithoji Haibatrao Silimbkar, Deshmukh of Gunjan Maval: 'You have promised to give your daughter in marriage to the son of Gomaji Naik. You were invited here (*i.e.* near the Huzur) for the celebration of the marriage. You wrote thereupon that you were suffering from dire poverty and starvation and you could not proceed for the purpose. I am therefore arranging to send to you 25 Hons and food material sufficient for 500 persons. This should remove the difficulty in your way. Please therefore start for the celebration of the marriage'. As will be seen, this letter deals neither with any executive or judicial matter. It is a personal affair settled with human considerations. One can imagine how the sympathetic and affectionate action of Jijabai must have created a deep impression upon the mind of Vithoji and the report of her behaviour must have endeared her to the people of the locality. Rule is not established by sword. It is by human behaviour that the necessary impression is created and relationship is developed. (Patrasara Sangraha, No. 1244).

There are similar letters of the years 1670, 1672 and 1678 (letters Nos. 1380, 1522 and 1591). In one letter (1380) there is a revival of an Inam of 1 Chavar (Cubit is = 18 inches = 14 Tasus; 5 Cubits = 1 Kathi; 20 Kathis Square = 1 Bigha; 120 Bighas = 1 Chawar) land to one Hari Govind of Kiwad in Tarf Khedebare. In another letter (1522) there is a similar investigation and renewal of the Inam trees, which had fallen into abeyance during the period of unsettlement, to one Chepgir Gosavi of Humgaon, while in the third letter (1591) Jijabai orders the transfer of the Vritti of Kulkarni to one Vinayakbhat Thakar who maintained the wife and children and family members of Rangobhat Thakar who had been the Kulkarni of four villages in Karyat Maval but had run away and been subsequently killed in famine times.

It is possible to go more deeply and make a more searching inquiry to hunt out references throwing light on the manifold activities of Jijabai; but even as it is the ten incidents referred to above are a proof positive that Jijabai was an active copartner in the work of her illustrious son. Nor is Jijabai the only exception. Radhabai, the wife of Balaji Vishwanath, did similar work of guarding the home front when Balaji was active abroad. She was thus a worthy wife of her husband. The instances of Yesubai, Ahalyabai and Anandibai are too well-known even to an ordinary student of Maratha History. It is not the purpose of this paper to take up a wider theme of studying the nature of the part played by the womanhood of Maharashtra in the social and political activities during the 17th and 18th centuries. Perhaps the subject is fit to be taken up for Ph.D. in History or Sociology. I shall only conclude by saying that we are now in a position to revise our opinion and form a better judgment about the position of Maratha women. What we imagined to be true can now be corroborated by historical evidence.

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THE BISAT-UL-GANAIM OF LAXMINARAYAN SHAFIQ AURANGABADI, A PERSIAN CHRONICLE OF MARATHA HISTORY

SHRI P. SETU MADHAVA RAO

THERE are a number of contemporary Persian accounts of the history of the Nizams of Hyderabad written in the 18th and the 19th centuries. It is well-known that intimate relations between the Nizams and the Marathas existed throughout the 18th century. It is a tale of a perpetual conflict between the Maratha expansion and the resistance of the Nizams to the former. The battles of Palkhed, Udgir, Rakshas Bhawan and Kharda are some of the battles fought between the Nizams and the Marathas in the 18th century. Scholars of Maratha history are now able to draw upon voluminous Maratha correspondence like the Peshwa Daftar in reconstructing the Maratha history. The same cannot be said however of the Persian accounts written by the historians in Hyderabad. The historians of the Marathas have paid little attention to the Hyderabad version of the Nizam-Maratha relations. As a matter of fact, there are good Persian histories for the period. Unfortunately, very few of them have been published. Even these publications took place 60-70 years ago with the result that many of the published books are out of print and are available with great difficulty. Fortunately, the State Library in Hyderabad, the Central Records Library, Hyderabad, and the Osmania University Library have been able to preserve a number of manuscripts and copies of published works. Among the histories of the Nizams published so far mention may be made of the life of Nizam-ul-Mulk by Dr. Yusuf Hussein Khan. There is a Urdu biography of Nizam-ul-Mulk by Junaidi. Urdu biographies of Nizam Ali Khan, Mir Alam and Sher Jung by Sirajuddin are available, but there is no literature in English devoted exclusively to the reign of Nasir Jung, Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan, with the result that the Persian sources—whether published or in manuscript form—have not become accessible to students of Maratha history. It is necessary that Persian works on the period like Khazane Amira, Masire Nizami, Risale Darbari Asafi, Masire Asafi, and Tuzuke Asafia which were written in the 18th century become available to students of history. Other works such as Tarikhe Gulzare Asafia which were written in the 19th century are also extremely useful. The historians of the period are Bilgrami, author of the Khazane Amira, Mansaram, author of the

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Masire Nizami and the Risale Darbari Asafi, Girdharilal, author of Tarikhe Zafrah, Tajalli Shah, author of Tuzuke Asafia and Laxminarayan, author of the Masire Asafi and the Persian chronicle Bisat-ul-Ganaim.

The work Bisat-ul-Ganaim, which means the Daring of the enemy, is a Persian chronicle in a loose rambling style. In its treatment of recent legends and hearsay accounts and inaccurate dates and anachronisms it resembles the Maratha Bakhars. It claims to give an account of Maratha history from the rise of Shivaji's family upto the battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D. The author does not claim veracity for the accounts. He says that he has drawn upon a Maratha chronicle about whose author he has no knowledge. He also relies on traditions and legends. The merit of the book however is that it is one of the very few Persian accounts dealing exclusively with Maratha history and it proceeds from the pen of one who was a Persian scholar, poet and acquainted with the politics of the Deccan in the latter part of the 18th century.

Laxminarayan Shafiq's family hailed originally from Lahore. His grandfather was in the personal service of Khawja Abid, the grandfather of the First Nizam. Laxminarayan's father, Mansaram, was the Chief Secretary to Nizam-ul-Mulk. Mansaram was also the author of two Persian works dealing with the history of the Deccan. Laxminarayan was a great Persian scholar and has left an account of Persian poetry and poets. He is also the historian of the period being the author of Masire Asafi.

His work Bisat-ul-Ganaim was completed by him on the 18th of November 1799. The book was published, it appears, for the first time in 1905 A.D. under the changed name of Khiabani Marahatta, meaning the garden of the Marathas.

Commencing his narrative of the Marathas, the author makes the following observations :—

"It occurred to me that I should write an account of the Marathas who are the dominant chiefs, nay the sole chiefs, of the Deccan.....The Muslim historians in their writings speak contemptuously about their opponents. They use harsh and disparaging words about them and allow religious hatred to influence worldly matters. They brush aside the merits of their opponents and only point out their defects.....The works which the Marathas have achieved during the period of their power have been ignored by the Persian historians both of old and recent times. The author of the present chronicle has made enquiries

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to the extent possible from people knowing the language of and acquainted with the Marathas and has brought into writing whatever he has found out. He has not brushed aside strange information which he has received."

Laxminarayan then proceeds with the enumeration of the names of seventy families, the prominent among whom were Bhosle, Shirke, Ghorpade, Nimbalkar, Chavan, Jadhav, Shinde, Gaikwad, Mohite and others. He has described the legends dealing with the origin of the term Bhosle. He has traced the origin of this family to the Ranas of Udepur. In the next chapter he has described the legend that the Ranas of Udepur were descended from Nausherwan, the Emperor of Persia. He begins the history of the Marathas with the migration of the Bhosles to the Deccan and the rise of Maloji, the father of Shahaji. The events which led to the marriage of Shahaji and Jijabai follow the traditional stories current in the Marathi chronicle. In tracing the subsequent career of Shahaji, the author has not been able to give correct details about the times of Malik Ambar, Murar Jagdeo and others.

The following chapter deals with the birth of Shivaji. Laxminarayan has given the traditional date of Shivaji's birth, viz., Vaishakha Shudhdha Panchami, Monday 1549 Shalivahana Shaka. His account of Shivaji's career occupies a major portion of the book. It may be said that the book covers 110 pages and the account of Shivaji covers nearly 40 pages. The career of Shivaji has been described at great length. Laxminarayan was an admirer of Marathas in general and Shivaji in particular. It will be interesting to find out what particular Bakhar was made use of in writing this chronicle which was completed in 1799 A.D. The episode of Afzal Khan has been described graphically by him. The following is a gist of the episode as described by Laxminarayan.

Having reached the foot of the hills, Afzal Khan sent his Dewans Krishnaji and Gopinath to Shivaji informing him that he had arrived and that Shivaji should go and see him in all confidence. Shivaji sent word that he had already pitched his tents awaiting him, and informed him that it would be difficult to transport the necessary equipment for entertainment to the place where Khan was staying and requested him to go over to the place where Shivaji was waiting him. Next day Afzal Khan sent away his son Fazal Khan and riding in a palkhi moved towards Pratapgadh. As death was hovering above him, he threw all caution to the winds and accompanied by 82 followers including the palanquin-bearers, 5 attendants, Krishnaji and Gopinath he approached Pratapgadh. Shivaji had kept in hiding 40 swordsmen like Sambhaji, Kawji, Hiroji, Jiwa, etc. He instructed them to wait for the opportune moment to come out of hiding. Shivaji then armed himself heavily with armour, sword, dagger and vaghnakh. He then

paid a visit to his mother, fell at her feet and asked for her blessings. At this time Gopinath Vakil appeared and informed that Afzal Khan had arrived in the tent with Krishnaji Dewan. Shivaji armed to the teeth and with full courage approached Afzal Khan and salammed him. Afzal Khan did not know Shivaji. He therefore asked his Dewan whether the person approaching was Shivaji himself. Afterwards he said, "What is the reason for destroying the country and the interests of the King?" Shivaji replied "There were evil-minded persons who were creating mischief previously. I have cleared the country of them. I am entitled to praise and thanks and not criticism and displeasure." Afzal Khan said, "Whatever has happened has happened; now hand over the forts to me and resolve upon the service of the King." Shivaji said that he would like to see the Firman of the King in this regard so that he could show respect to the Firman and comply with it. At this, Krishnaji, the Dewan said, "You have now come to Khan. You should first beg pardon for the faults committed. Only then could you expect the Firman." Shivaji replied that he and the Khan were both the servants of the King. He said, "Why does the Khan want me to beg pardon. Yet I will not refuse what you say. I will go to the Khan." Having said this, Shivaji embraced Afzal Khan. At the time of the embrace Afzal Khan holding Shivaji in his arms stabbed him with a dagger. It could not be effective owing to the protection of the armour. Struggling, Shivaji plunged the bichwa which he had in his hand into the bowels of Afzal Khan and tore his belly. He then freed himself from his clutches. Afzal Khan tied his stomach with a piece of cloth, drew his sword and hit Shivaji on the head. Shivaji received a slight wound on the head and struck Afzal Khan with a sword. The Afghans who were attending on Afzal Khan attacked Shivaji but Banaji Bano disposed them off. Krishnaji, the Dewan, on seeing this affair, attacked Shivaji but was felled by Esaji, a companion of Shivaji. The palanquin-bearers, carrying the body of Afzal Khan, left the place, but the followers of Shivaji crowded upon the body and having cut-off the head of Afzal Khan along with its headgear hung it on the gate of the fort.

This, in brief, is how Laxminarayan deals with the episode of Afzal Khan.

Laxminarayan has dealt with Shivaji's career, as remarked above. in great detail. The escape from Agra and Shivaji's subsequent letter to Aurangzeb have also been brought out. About Shahaji's imprisonment by the King of Bijapur, Laxminarayan states that Shahaji's release was brought out through the intercession of Ranadulla Khan, the General of Bijapur. This does not correspond to historical facts. Laxminarayan has described the visit of Shivaji to Kutubshah of Golconda in 1677 A.D. The episode of Esaji's fight with an elephant at Golconda described by him shows that Laxminarayan must have

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drawn his account from some well-known Bakhars. Shivaji's end was, according to Laxminarayan, hastened by domestic difficulties. Laxminarayan hints that Shivaji was poisoned by his wife Soyarabai, the mother of Rajaram. Shivaji's death took place on the 24th Rabbi-ul-Akhir 1091 Hejira.

In the following Chapter Sambhaji's reign is described. Full details of the treasure which Shivaji left and the forts possessed by him are given. Sambhaji was captured while indulging in luxuries. According to Laxminarayan, he and Kabji were put to death for abusive language used against Aurangzeb. The author says that, hard pressed by the Marathas, Aurangzeb had put forward peace-feelers. About the end of Shahu, Laxminarayan has put forward a strange tale that Shahu was a voluptuous debauchee and that he died as a result of injuries received in an amorous adventure. He has indicated that this was what he had heard. In the next chapter Laxminarayan has given an account of the Maratha chiefs of the Nizam, Chandrasen Jadhav, Sultanji Nimbalkar, and Maharao Janoji Jaswant Numbalkar. He has then dealt with the rise of the Peshwas and their conflict with the Nizams. He has dealt at length with the Maratha expansion in the north leading ultimately to the battle of Panipat. He speaks of the advice which Surajmal Jath gave to Sadashivrao Bhau, advising against an advance beyond Delhi. The battle of Panipat has been described very graphically by Laxminarayan, expecially the last fight which Sadashivrao Bhau put up before he was killed. The admiration which Laxminarayan felt for the Marathas is very much apparent when he describes the heroic deeds of Sadashivrao Bhau, Vishwasrao, Jankoji, Samsher Bahadur, Ibrahim Khan Gardi and others. The author brings the chronicle to an end with a reference to the death of Balaji Bajirao.

This, in brief, is an account given in this book. The author has drawn upon, as remarked above, Marathi chronicles, Persian works, and traditions and legends current in his day. The book is of no great importance as a piece of history. Many of the statements made in the book do not stand the test of scrutiny. Its only merit is that it proceeds from the pen of a Hindu Persian scholar and historian who was a keen student of contemporary events. This is one of the few Persian books dealing entirely with the Marathas from their rise upto the battle of Panipat. It can best be described as impressions formed by a scholar about the Marathas. Incidentally, it would be worth while trying to trace the Marathi chronicles on which Laxminarayan has based his accounts.

It is hoped that the above description of the Bisat-ul-Ganaim will nduce students of history to study the Persian sources of Maratha-Nizam relations in a greater measure than hitherto.

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BAJI RAO I AND NORTH INDIA

SHRI SATISH CHANDRA

IT has been generally held by writers on Maratha history that Baji Rao I not only initiated in a systematic manner the Maratha policy of expansion towards North India, but that he had formed the fixed design of overthrowing the Mughal empire and planting the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock. This contention is supported by certain passages in the Chitnis Bakkhar describing the controversy between Baji Rao and the Pratinidhi, Shripat Rao, over Maratha policy in relation to the Deccan and North India. We are told that whereas Pratinidhi wanted that attention should first be given to the overrunning of the Konkan where the Sidi of Janjira had recovered many areas, and the completion of the conquest of the Karnatak begun by Shivaji, Baji Rao dwelt on the weakness and imbecility of the Mughal Court which was torn by factions and internecine feuds. He dismissed the Pratinidhi's fear of the Nizam and of a renewed Mughal invasion, offering to hold the Nizam in check as well as to effect a northward drive. He is supposed to have ended his peroration with the famous words, " Strike, strike at the root and the branches will fall of themselves." Listen but to my counsel and I shall plant the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock.[1]

However, a too literal interpretation of Chitnis has tended to give a distorted picture of Baji Rao's policy. While Baji Rao certainly made the conquest of Malwa and Gujarat his immediate objective, it is by no means certain that he aimed at the conquest of the whole of the Mughal empire in the North, or that he was disinterested in the conquest and domination of the Deccan.

The essential argument of the Partinidhi that an all-out programme of expansion towards the north without befriending or effectively subduing the Nizam and establishing a Maratha supremacy over the Deccan and the Karnatak would be dangerous and against the best interests of the Marathas had a good deal of force. Baji Rao pointed to Malwa and Gujarat in preference to the Deccan because the Deccan

1. Chitnis, *Thorle Shahu Maharaj yanchen Charitra*, pp. 60-61.

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had been impovarished by famine and war, and money—an ever present requirement of the Maratha sardars—was not to be had there. But even while struggling for the establishment of the Maratha domination over Malwa and Gujarat, Baji Rao seems to have constantly kept before him the broader political objective of establishing a Maratha hegemony over the Deccan. In fact, it would seem that for Baji Rao the Maratha domination of Malwa and Gujarat was a prelude to the complete Maratha domination of the Deccan.

The nature of Baji Rao's ambitions in the Deccan is indicated by an extant paper containing important demands regarding the Deccan. For the sake of clarity, the document entitled "Memorandum of Demands" might be translated in full.[2]

1. The grants of *swarajya*, *chauthai* and *sardeshmukhi* already granted under the imperial seal should be ratified by royal *farman*, and the *peshkash*[3] excused.

2. The *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Malwa and Gujarat should be granted by royal farman.

3. The kingdom of Tanjore which is an old Maratha kingdom and has been annexed by the Mughals should be restored.

4. The forts of Shivner, Chākan, Māholi, Karnālā, Pāli, Miraj and Kirkol under Mughal occupation and the territories dependent on these forts, *i.e.* the tarf of Junner, Pārner, Rājangaon, Ākluj, the 'suba' of Miraj, Kotul and Dhādharphal should be restored.

5. The *deshmukhi* of Shivner should be granted to us (Shahu).

6. *The appointment to the subahdari of the Deccan should be made on our recommendation.*

7. *Farmans* should be sent to the Deccani Pathans, Diler Khan, Abdun Nabi Khan and Alaf Khan, that in order to help the royal business they should join the Maratha armies of Raja Shahu and chastise Nizam-ul-Mulk.

8. The *subahdars* of the Deccan should not treat with the Raja of Panhala.

2. Selection from the Peshwa Daftar, vol. X, No. 1. *Cf.* Sardesai, *New History*, vol. II, pp. 78-79. Some of the clauses have been omitted or incorrectly rendered by the author.

3. In return for the grant of the *swarajya*, Shahu had agreed in 1719 to pay a *peshkash* of Rupees ten lakhs, and in return for *sardeshmukhi* Rs. 1,17,19,890/-12/- (Dr. A. G. Powar, *IHRC*, Proc. 1940, pp. 204-12). However, not even ten lakhs out of this sum had been paid till 1724.

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9. Abdul Majid Khan, the young son of Dilaer Khan should be granted the title of Diler Khan and confirmed in his *jagir*, and Abdul Karim Khan, the cousin of Abdul Majid Khan, should be confirmed as the subahdar of Bijapur.

10. Deserters from our side should not be employed in Mughal service.

11. Ramji Goswami etc. petitioners[4] should be granted a *farman* conferring (lands in) inam.[5]

12. Maratha nobles from our side who have been given service by the Mughals should be sent back to us.

13. The Mughal and Maratha army appointed to the Deccan should be sent a *farman* that whoever exerted himself in chastising Nizam-ul-Mulk would be honoured and confirmed in his *mansab* and *jagir*.

14. *Fateh Singh Bhonsle should be granted the subahdari of Hyderabad, with the mansab of 9,000 and a jagir for (the upkeep of) 20,000 troops.*

15. The forts and territories captured by the Habshis (Sidi of Janjira) should be restored to us, and *if necessary, the royal armies should chastise him and help the Marathas in occupying them.*

16. *Rupees fifty lakhs promised by the Emperor should be granted.*[6]

In substances the Marathas demanded the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Malwa and Gujarat and *the complete Maratha domination of the Deccan*, along with a subvention of Rupees fifty lakhs, and the withdrawal of help and recognition from Shambhaji of Kolhapur.[7]

What was the occasion for these staggering demands by the Marathas? It has been argued that the occasion was Nizam-ul-Mulk's rebellion in 1724, and the Emperor's attempt to secure Maratha support for Mubariz Khan. However, it appears strange that the name of Mubariz Khan should not appear anywhere in such an important document. Clause 9 suggests that the document was written after the death of Diler Khan who fought against Nizam-ul-Mulk at the battle of Shakar

4. The Marathi ward is द्वागो which is obviously the Persian word دعاگو.

5. *Inam* or gift was generally a hereditary grant of land, without any condition of military service.

6. *Cf.* Sardesai, *loc. cit.*, where the sum of Rs. 50,000/- only is mentioned.

7. Shambhaji's predecessor, Shivaji II, the son of Tara Bai was granted the *mansab* of 3000/2000 and the title of Anup Singh along with the *deshmukhi* of Hyderabad by Jahandar Shah at the instance of his wazir, Zulfiqar Khan (*Akhbarat*, entry, d. Sept. 4, 1712). It is not certain if a similar recognition was ever extended to Shambhaji.

Khera, while clause 15 suggests that it was written at a time when the Marathas were contemplating action against the Sidi of Janjira (*i.e.* 1731-32). Since relations between the Delhi Court and Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Nizam-ul-Mulk and the Afghans of the Karnatak were never good, the document could have been written any time between 1724 and 1738.

The nature of Baji Rao's abmitions regarding the Deccan is attested to by a number of other documents. Thus, the first paper, relating to the demands made by Baji Rao and agreed to by Nizam-ul-Mulk at Mungi Shivgaon on March 6, 1728 reads as follows :—

"The administration of the Deccan should be handed over to us : by God's grace, the task shall be carried out with loyalty and economy—provided that loyalty (to the Emperor) shall be observed through you."[8]

The Marathas could scarcely have hoped that such a demand would be agreed to by Nizam-ul-Mulk in practice without a prolonged war. However, that it should have been made by the Marathas is significant.

Between 1728 and 1735 there was extended conflict between the Marathas and the Mughals in Malwa and Gujarat. The Bundelas entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Marathas, and invited them to lead an offensive towards Allahabad and the areas to the east of it. The danger of Maratha incursion into the Duab alarmed Saādat Khan of Awadh who looked upon these areas as lying in his natural line of expansion. He repaired to Delhi, apparently convinced that the Maratha expansion towards the North was all the Nizam's game. The Maratha agent in Bundelkhand, Mudhāji Hari, informed Baji Rao that Saādat Khan had formed the project of meeting Baji Rao personally in Malwa. The terms he intended to offer were that the *subahdar* of the Deccan should be a person nominated by the Peshwa, and that Baji Rao should be appointed the *subahdar* of Malwa and his other demands accepted, stipulating in return that Nizam-ul-Mulk should be properly dealt with.[9] However, it seems that the projected meeting never materialised.

After three years of war from 1732-35, in February, 1736, Baji Rao entered Malwa at the invitation of Khai-i-Dauran, the chief Bakhshi, in order to negotiate a peace settlement with the Emperor. The demands presented to the Emperor by Baji Rao through his vakil, Dhondo Mahadev, included not only a claim for the *subahdari* of Malwa and

8. *SPD*, vol. XV, p. 89. The Marathi text seems to be a literal interpretation of a Persian text. Baji Rao's intention apparently was that the Nizam, as the representative of the Mughal Emperor, should delegate his powers to the Marathas who promised to remain loyal to the Emperor.

9. *SPD*, vol. XIV, No. 9.

Gujarat with an authority to levy tribute on all the Rajas between the Narmada and the Chambal, and control all the forts etc., but also a stipulation that the *sardeshpandegiri* of the Deccan was to be granted to the Peshwa. The *sardeshpandegiri* was to carry with it 5% of the revenues of the Deccan. There were other demands also. The Emperor agreed to all the demands. It was agreed that the *sanad* for the post of *sardeshpande* would be issued when the question of the *nazar* had been settled. After negotiations, the *nazr* was fixed at 6 lakhs, of which one-fourth was to be paid in cash, and the rest in instalments.[10]

Not satisfied with this, Baji Rao demanded further that the Viceroyalty of the Deccan should be given to an Imperial prince, with the apparent idea that his deputy would be nominated by the Peshwa. The Peshwa also demanded a *jagir* of 50 lakhs for himself in the Deccan, and further stipulated that any additional revenue gained in the Deccan as a result of his efforts would be shared half and half. The demands for the forts of Shivner and the kingdom of Tanjore were repeated, in addition to a number of villages being claimed in *mokasa*.[11]

These extravagant demands threw the Emperor's advisers into consternation. They were prepared to make the Peshwa the *sardeshpande* of the Deccan in order to throw a bone of contention between him and the Nizam and divert the attention of the Peshwa from North India. But they were not willing to hand over the entire Deccan to the Peshwa. Thus, Baji Rao's demands relating to the Deccan were one of the main causes of the break-down of the negotiations with the Emperor in 1736.

Baji Rao now decided to force the Emperor's hands by raiding the Duab. His object according to his own letter, was to induce the Emperor to make peace by showing him the Marathas at the gates of Delhi.[12] However, the raid had the opposite effect from the one intended, and threw the Emperor into the arms of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

The tussle between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Baji Rao which now began was the most momentous struggle faced by Baji Rao. The victor of the struggle would be the virtual arbiter of India. However, for Baji Rao it was more a battle for the supremacy of the Deccan than of North India. "Let every Maratha join," he wrote to his brother, Chimnaji, on the eve of the battle of Bhopal in 1738, "and one grand united push may make us the masters of the Deccan." He also wrote repeatedly, "If the Nawab (Nizam-ul-Mulk) is taken care of, the entire Deccan will be freed of danger.[13]

10. *SPD*, vol. XV, pp. 92-98.
11. *SPD*, vol. XV, p. 95.
12. *Brahmendra Swamichen Charitra*, p. 27.
13. *Brahmendra Swami*, pp. 33-35; Sardesai, *Riyasat*, 371-72.

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Although Nizam-ul-Mulk was hard-pressed at Bhopal, Baji Rao refrained from forcing a final show down with him. The final terms referred only to Malwa, and the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal. However, it seems that Baji Rao agreed to these terms only after he had pressed once again the Maratha claims relating to the Deccan. Baji Rao presented the following demands :—

1. Cede the kingdom of Tajore which had belonged to Shivaji.

2. The Peshwa is deeply in debt. To help him a *jagir* worth 50 lakhs should be granted to him in the subah of Khandesh, Aurangabad and Bijapur.

3. The charge for the *watani sardeshpandegiri* of the Deccan should be fixed at 5%, and the administration of the Deccan should be carried on through the Peshwa.

4. Cede the fort of Shivner, and a number of villages in *mokasa*.[14]

It is difficult to foresee how Baji Rao's policy would have shaped after the battle of Bhopal had Nadir Shah's invasion not intervened, followed by Baji Rao's premature death. Baji Rao may have pushed forward into North India beyond Malwa. It is equally possible that he may have concentrated on fulfilling his unrealised ambitions relating to the Deccan. In that case, many of the political blunders of Balaji Baji Rao might have been avoided, and the Marathas placed in a better position to establish a lasting domination over North India.

In view of the close and continuous interest of Baji Rao in the Deccan, it seems scarcely correct to accept the notion that Baji Rao's primary objective was the establishment of a Maratha domination in the North and that he was unmindful of the importance of consolidating further the Maratha position in the Deccan. Baji Rao was apparently ot satisfied with the Maratha position in the Deccan as established by he treaty of Mungi Shivgaon in 1728, and strove constantly to bring he entire Deccan under the administrative control of the Marathas. 'he North Indian policy of Baji Rao, therefore, needs to be re-assessed nd viewed against the background of his ambitions in the Deccan.

14. *SPD*, vol. XV, pp. 94-95. These demands are contained in a separate *adi* entitled : " Demands of Baji Rao Pant Pradhan presented to Nizam-ul-Mulk n writing."

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ALIVARDI AND THE AFGHANS OF TIRHUT

DR. UPENDRA THAKUR

DARBHANGA of Tirhut played a very significant part in the politics of Bengal and Bihar during the regime of Alivardi Khan Mahabat Jang (1740-1756 A.D.). It was the brave Afghan soldiers of Darbhanga who formed the bulwark of Alivardi's army and helped him occupy the throne of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Their fighting genius and unflinching loyalty mostly contributed towards the fulfilment of his high ambitions. But for these valiant and sturdy Afghan soldiers it is difficult to say what the verdict of history would have been on Alivardi's rise and achievements. Again, it was these Afghan soldiers who proved to be his most formidable enemy towards the latter part of his reign. It took him several years to deal with these turbulent Afghan elements to effectively secure his own position.

According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, the earlier Afghan settlers or the Indo-Afghans in Allahabad, Darbhanga, Orissa and Silhet were replenished in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century by a fresh wave of Afghan immigration into Northern India.[1] These Afghan adventurers found military employments in many places "either as retainers or mercenaries." In some places they founded their principalities[2] and built up spheres of influence as in Tirhut (Darbhanga and Hajipur), Rohilkhand, Farrukhabad etc.[3] They were endowed with "brilliant fighting qualities and a genius for military organisation."

At the same time they were "strongly attached to the interests of their own clans."[4] The decaying Moghul Empire soon opened their eyes and encouraged them to play a dominant part in the confused politics of the day. They soon realised that they were far superior to the Moghul armies in the art of warfare by virtue of their "courage, intractability and vindictiveness."[5]

1. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, vol. I, pp. 43-45.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and his times*, p. 119.
5. *Siyar*, vol. I. p. 488.

I

As the *naib nazim* of Bihar (1788 A.D. onwards) and also during the first four years of his government as the Subahdar of Bengal (1740-44 A.D.) Alivardi had received immense help from the Afghans of Tirhut and Bihar. The entire province of Bihar was in a state of turmoil when he had assumed charge as Deputy Governor. "Most of the zamindars had become turbulent and rebellious, and the land had fallen a prey to the nefarious activities of a band of wandering people, called the Banjaras who in the guise of travellers and traders used to plunder the Imperial domains and treasures."[6] These Banjaras used to assemble to the number of about 80,000 horse and foot, leading a lakh of oxen with them. On the pretext of buying and selling rice, on whichever side they went they committeed plunder, especially in the districts of Oudh, Gorakhpur, Ghazipur, Bettia and Bhuānrā or Bhawrah in Sarkar Tirhut which was their special jagir.[7] Alivardi however, tried to restore order and strengthen his army with a view to putting and end to this Banjara menace. He admitted into his service Abdul Karim Khan,[8] a powerful Afghan Chief having fifteen hundred Darbhanga Afghans in his command. And, it was with the help of these brave Afghans that Alivardi crushed the turbulent Banjaras and got an imense booty from them.[9]

After the Banjaras Alivardi reduced to submission the refactory zamindars of the province like the rajas of Bettia, Bhanwarah (or Bhawrah, a Mahal under Sarkar Tirhut),[10] Bhojpur, Raja Sunder Singh of Tekari and Kamgar Khan Main of Narhat Samai.[11] As a matter of fact "their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any one of the former Subahdars."[12]

According to Muzaffarnama,[13] the Raja of Bettia (Dhruva Sinha, 1715-68 A.D.) was "the foremost rebel of Bihar" and always used to give trouble to the army-chiefs. Alivardi, with the help of Nawab

6. *RS*, 296 ; Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

7. *Cf. Muzaffarnama*, Trans. by Sir J. N. Sarkar in *BPP*, vol. LXVI, 1946-47, pp. 68-69.

8. *Rs.* 296 ; Datta. *op.cit.* 18 ; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 478.

9. For a detailed account of Alivardi's encounter with the Banjaras, and the results thereof, see *Muzaffarnama*, Trans by Sarkar in *BPP*, vol. LXVI, 1946-47. pp. 68-69 ; Datta, *op.cit.* 18 ff ; *RS*, p. 296 ; also see the writer's book *History of Mithila* (1556-1947), vol. II, Chap. I (unpublished).

10. *Ain.* II, 156 ; Stewart, (*op. cit.*, p. 478) wrongly calls it Phoolareh of Phulwari. The latter was a mahal under Sarkar Bihar. Also *cf. RS*, p. 296-97 ; *HB.* vol. II, p. 489.

11. This zamindari extended along the south-east of zillah Bihar (*vide* Buchnan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, vol. II, pp. 588-59).

12. *RS*, p. 296 ; *Siyar*, II, p. 58 ; Singh, *History of Tirhut*, pp. 96-97.

13. *BPP*, vol. LXVI, p. 67, ff.

Sahatmat Jang and Abdul Karim Khan Afghan badly crushed the Raja who fled away in terror from his fort to the distant hills. This victory led to the great honouring of Abdul Karim Khan which "raised his pride to the highest pitch."[14]

The Raja of Bhura (Bhumra, or Bhawrah), Raja Narendra Sinha, said to have been proud of his hills and jungles and strong places, used to refuse obedience to the orders of the Governor. This year too he tried to assert his independence.

Alivardi rapidly marched against him "marking his saddle his sleeping place."[15] The Raja of Tirhut also prepared for a fight. A severe encounter took place, the like of which had never seen before. The battle is known as the famous battle of Kandarpighat.[16] After a stubborn resistance and temporary victories the Raja had at last to take to flight in face of the Nawab's undaunting and overwhelming armies. Abdul Karim was ordered to pursue him. He is said to have made forced marches, siezed the wife and children of the Rāja on the skirt of the Dhaulagiri hill (Himalaya) and sent them to the Governor. The victors returned to Patna fort. The Raja, however, made his submission : the district was brought under administration and the Raja allowed to return to his home.[17]

Alivardi next fell upon Raja Sundar Singh of Tikari and subdued him. It was as a result of this victory that Mustafa Khan, an Afghan general of Raja Sundar Singh was taken with 85 troopers into the service of Alivardi and day by day received such promotion that he reached the highest rank and became the master of 4,000 troopers with the title of Babar Jang.[18]

Alivardi then turned against the Chakwars, a brave and powerful Hindu tribe with their stronghold at Sambho in the Begusarai Sub-

14. *Ibid.*

15. Bhawrah is situated about 19 miles north-north-east of Bettia town and about the same distance north-north-west of Sugauli. It stands on the Nepal frontier and was a mahal under Sarkar Tirhut. Gladwin in his translation of the *Tarīkh-i-Baugāla* read the name as Phoolwareh which Rennell also gives in his plate IV as Fulvarya. This is wrong. Ain. II, 156 has, Bhānwārah, a mahāl in Sarkar Tirhut. The Raja referred to, was Narendra Simha (1747 A.D.) of the Khandavatā dynasty of Mithila (1556-1950 A.D.) of which the present Maharaja of Darbhanga is a distinguished scion (*vide HM*, vol. II, Chap. III).

16. For details of this historic battle, see Prof. R. K. Chaudhary's *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut* (1200-1765 A.D.) *MS.* (unpublished); writer's book *History of Mithila* (1556-1947 A.D.), vol. II, Chap. III (unpublished); Also see the writer's forthcoming paper, "*The battle of Kandarpighat.*"

17. *Muzaffarnama* in *BPP*, vol. LXVI, p. 68. Mithila tradition, however, does not at all support this view. As a matter of fact the Raja is said to have come out victorious in this battle. We have, however, no reliable information to confirm or contradict this statement (see *HM*, vol. II, Chap. III).

18. *Muzaffarnama*, 70.

division of the Monghyr district. The Raja was subdued and made to pay an annual tribute to the Subahadar of Bengal[19].

All these consecutive success, however, turned Abdul Karim, the brave Afghan commander from Darbhanga altogether a changed man. He "grew insolent and manifested a spirit of independence." By temperament and training Alivardi was the last man to tolerate such revolting manners; he soon apprehended the dangerous situation and got him murdered by deceitful means, a touching account of which has been given by the author of the *Muzaffarnama*.[20] This was indeed treachrous assassination of a man who had rendered him valuable services.[21] But these acts of treachery and violence were a common feature of the mediæval history, and Alivardi was no exception to this general rule. His measures in Bihar, however, can be summed up in the following words: "Peace and order returned to the province as a result of Alivardi's successful administration."[22]

II

After the death of Shuja-ud-daulah, his son Sarfaraz ascended the *masnad* of Bengal. His weak and inefficient handling of the situation encouraged Alivardi to seize the government of Bengal. He had gathered 8,000 sturdy Afghans in his army and "his infantry levied in Bihar were much stouter than those in the army of Sarfaraz Khan, who were mostly natives of Bengal."[23] He had with him an assembly of brave Hindu and Muslim generals like Mustafa Khan, Shamshir Khan, Sardar Khan, Omar Khan, Raham Khan, Sarandaz Khan, Shaikh Masum (all Afghan generals from Darbhanga) and several other tried and veteren soldiers. At last the historic battle was fought at Giria (1740 A.D.). After a furiously contested battle Sarfaraz was killed on the spot by a chance shot on his forehead. Some of his devoted Hindu and Muslim Commanders fought valiantly to the last to avenge their master's death, but their efforts ended in grim failure. Alivardi was now an undisputed and uncontested ruler of Bengal. This Bengal revolution of 1787-40 was no doubt "a significant episode not only in the history of the province, but also in that of the decadent Moghul Empire. It is a clear illustration of the grossly vitiated atmosphere of the age, and of the effects of treachery, ungratefulness and inordinate ambition..... A Nemesis followed it when his (Alivardi's) favourite grandson and

19. For a detailed account see *G. D. College Bulletin series*, no. 8; R. K. Chowdhary's paper in *Ramcharitra Abhinandan Granth*; *History of Mithila*, vol. II, App. C; R. K. Chowdhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut* (unpublished).

20. Trans. by J. N. Sarkar in *BPP*, vol. LXVI (1946-47), pp. 68-70.

21. Datta, *op. cit.* p. 15; *RS*, p. 297.

22. *HB*. vol. II, p. 489; *KT*. (*JBORS*), vol. V, p. 228).

23. *HB*, vol. II, p. 489.

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successor Siraj-ud-daullah fell a victim to the same forces which had worked to cause the ruin of Sarfaraz. It might well be said that the battle of Plassey was the reply of divine justice to the battle of Giria."[24]

The new Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa[25] gave the Deputy Governorship of Bihar to his youngest nephew, Zainuddin Ahmad Khan. The Government of Tirhut was now placed in the charge of Abdul Ali Khan, maternal uncle of the historian Ghulam Hussain and a cousin of Alivardi in addition to his duties as the revenue collector of the parganas of Bihar and Biswāk. Besides this there were changes also in the administration set up.[26]

The repeated Maratha invasion and the indiscriminate depredations in its wake gave Alivardi some very anxious moments of his life. It was again with the help of these brave Afghan generals that Alivardi could chase the Marathas out of Bihar and Bengal after great many skirmishes and battles.[27]

The third Maratha invasion in March 1744 under Bhaskar Pandit fortunately spared Bihar, but the fourth Maratha invasion in 1745 A.D. greatly affected Bihar. It was a domestic revolution that turned Alivardi's strongest allies into his bitterest foes. Mustafa Khan,[28] the foremost of Alivardi's Afghan generals from Darbhanga, broke into open rebellion against him and invited Raghoji, the Maratha chief, to invade Bengal. This open rebellion of Mustafa Khan, followed by other formidable Afghan insurrections marks one of the most tragic episodes of the latter part of Alivardi's government which was literally shaken out of its bottom and thrown in doldrums for a good many years.

Mustafa Khan, the most conspicuous of the Afghan generals and "an individual of such a praiseworthy nation"[29] helped him considerably in all his adventures from the first invasion of the Maratha till the assassination of Bhaskar Pandit.[30] Moreover, he was one of his trusted counsellors in matters of administration.[31] But, ironically enough Mustafa was the first Afghan general to break his relations with Alivardi and thus turn out to be one of his most formidable foes.[32]

24. *HB*, vol. II, p. 448; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42; *Sivar*, vol. I, pp. 827-42; *RS*, pp. 297-324; *KT*, (*JBORS*, vol. V, pp. 228-29).
25. For his Orissa conquest see *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 344-70; *KT*, (*JBORS*. vol. V, pp. 228-29); *RS*, pp. 325-27; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-54; *HB*, vol II, pp. 448-46.
26. *HB*, vol. II, pp. 442-48; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-54.
27. For a detailed account of Alivardi's fight with the Marathas see *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 375-408; 413-19, 430-37; *HB*, vol. II, pp. 455-61; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-98 etc.
28. For his rise, power and influence, see *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 429, 487-62.
29. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 488.
30. Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 104 ff.
31. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
32. *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 439 ff.

Mustafa Khan was an extremely ambitious man. Constant success for three or four years " enflamed by his courage, made him cast a wishful eye upon that pomp and that wealth of Bengal which endlessly blazed in review before his eyes. "[33] He aspired to be Alivardi's equal and attempted to become his superior.[34] According to *Muzaffarnama*,[35] however, Mustafa Khan entitled Babar Jang, " became an object of envy to the world " because of his exalted position and highest rank and power. Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan, who were discontented with his ascendancy, secretly deceived him " like Satans implanting the false suspicions in his heart."[36]

It is said that instigated by them he demanded the deputy governorship of Bihar by removing Haibat Jang (Zainuddin Ahmad Khan) from Patna or Azimabad. As that was not possible, his ill-feeling was aggravated, till at last " One day Mustafa Khan, contrary to the customary time, early in the morning with many treacherous men came to the Darbar for audience. Spies reported to Alivardi that he intended to cause a disturbance that day. Therefore, Gulam Husain Khan ' arzbegi ', who was a wise man, detained him for an hour outside with charming talks while he sent one man to summon the other regularly attending ' Courtiers ' (*Mujrāiān*). As soon as Mustafa was presented, Alivardi engaged in talking with him in such an attractive manner that the old man was drowned in surprise, and did not get his opportunity, till the crowd of the courtiers had assembled. Next day Mustafa again came to the Darbar near the evening with his wicked intention. Alivardi did not give him audience but evaded him. Babar Jang in his pride left the public audience hall."[37]

Instigated by mischievous persons he formed yet another ambitious design in his heart. He drew up a manifest (*Mahazar*) for " uniting all the Afghan Sardars together ousting Alivardi from the govenorship, and began to induce the Afghan generals to affix their seals to it. When Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan brought the manifesto to Umar Khan for him to seal it and share the government, the latter out of royalty, tore up the paper, and opened his mouth in abusing the Afghan even up to Shershah. Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan, out of precaution, lest the anger of Alivardi should ruin the entire Afghan tribe, came back to their homes in silence, their real intention which was to give Babar Jang a bad name, was not fulfilled."[38]

33. *Ibid.*, p. 488.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 488.
35. Trans. by Sarkar *BPP*, vol. LXVII, 1948, pp. 12-15.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*

Alivardi was also partly responsible for this change in his attitude. In a moment of dire necessity he had promised him the deputy governorship of Bihar as a reward for assassinating Bhaskar, the Maratha general.[39] The task having been completed Mustafa "insisted on the performance of the promise."[40] Alivardi, however, evaded its fulfilment and "wanted to shut up the man's mouth by loading him with distinctions, to regain his rancorous stubborn heart by softening it with sweet words and to soothe his resentment by expression full of regard.[41] The general, after having been fed for some months with todays and tomorrows, at last "lost all patience and spoke openly."[42]

This precipitated an open rupture between the two. Mustafa soon saw through the sinister motives of the Nawab and resigned his service. Alivardi saw in the disunion among the Afghans a stroke of good fortune. He dismissed[43] Mustafa Khan who had offered his resignation.[44] Mustafa mustered a body of 9,000 Afghan horsemen, besides a powerful batch of infantry, and pressed his demands for the deputy governorship of Bihar,[45] and also the arrear of his pay of his soldiers amounting to seventeen lakhs of rupees,[46] which the Nawab paid him at once through Jagat Seth and sent him back to his place with all honours. Mustafa, now being quite hopeless of getting the co-operation of other Afghans, for certain obstacles, could not carry out his plan in Murshidabad. He, therefore, set for Patna intending to wrest the governorship of that province from Zainuddin Haibat Jang. But Mustafa's kinsmen and generals like Umar Khan, Raham Khan, Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan could not be won over for reasons already noted above. They deserted him for good. Alivardi cleverly managed to keep them attached to his cause by bestowing rewards and favours on them.

Mustafa left Murshidabad for Patna towards the close of February, 1745 A.D. with 15,000 cavalry. Alivardi also set out in pursuit with a large army when he learnt of the hostile intention of Mustafa Khan and his having started for Patna in fighting mood. Zainuddin, the governor of Patna, was then in mahal Bhānwārā of Tirhut, where he received

39. *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 481 ff.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 439.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Muzaffarnama* (*BPP*, vol. LXVII, 1948), p. 18.
44. *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 439-42 says that Mustafa Khan resigned and his resignation was accepted by Alivardi.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 440.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 448. According to *Muzaffarnama* (*BPP*, vol. LXVII, p. 18) only nine lakhs of rupees were his dues as arrears of pay.

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the intelligence about Mustafa's approach.[47] Alivardi wrote to him to come down to Murshidabad for his safety, and advised him in no way to oppose Mustafa Khan. After receiving this letter Zainuddin immediately replied in anger "If I do not oppose his designs and do not bring this wanderer in the wrong path to the right path, what should I do? I shall then have to withdraw my hand from Azimabad and make a gift of that province to this man. That cannot be done by this slave."[48] Thus Zainuddin decided to oppose the Afghans with all his might.

At that time in all 14,000 troopers were present with Zainuddin, while Mustafa Khan was at the head of 20,000. When Alivardi learnt of his nephew's determination to fight against Mustafa he again and again hurriedly wrote to him: "(Do not) desire to (fight) Babar Jang who is carrying European-manned artillery with him. You too know his personal bravery. If, in spite of this you insist on resisting him, remain on the defensive till I arrive with my army. Don't fight except from trenches."[49] Zainuddin was, however, determined to resist him, come what may. He moved immediately from Tirhut and by incessant marches arrived at Azimabad.[50] He sent out letters on all sides calling upon brave men to come to his side and join in the fight. He himself crossed the Ganges (back to Patna) and entrenched, as directed by Alivardi, in the garden of Jafar Khan which is close to Patna.[51] With the help of his old troops, some local nobles and zamindars and Hindu commanders like Raja Kirat Singh and Raja Ram Narain and others he at last prepared to face Mustafa's army.[52]

On his way Mustafa Khan slew, plundered and desolated all places, towns and villages and took some pieces of artillery and public money by force and advanced further. When he reached Monghyr he wanted to capture it. Hassan Beg Khan, the *Qiladar* (officer-in-charge) offered opposition like a brave soldier. Mustafa's troops made their way to the wall in face of heavy fire from the fort and entered and took possession of it. The *Qiladar*, along with his three sons, was made prisoner. Abdul Rasool Khan, Mustafa's own brother, was seated on his elephant at the foot of the fort where in course of the assault he was fatally hit by a stone hurled from the fort.[53]

47. *Muzaffarnama*, f. 62A (quoted in Datta 122); *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 446. Zainuddin had received from his uncle the whole pargana or district of Tirhut in Jagir i.e., as an appanage. He, therefore, used to sajourn some time in Tirhut (*vide Siyar*, vol. I, p. 428).

48. *Muzaffarnama* (*BPP*, vol. LXVII, 1948, pp. 12-13.)

49. *Ibid.*, 13.

50. *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 447-58.

51. *Muzaffarnama*, (*op. cit.*), 13.

52. *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 447-58.

53. *Muzaffarnama*, 13; *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 447-58.

When Zainuddin heard that Mustafa had seized the Monghyr fort and was marching towards Patna, he, in compliance with Alivardi's instructions to avoid opposing Mustafa in an open encounter as far as possible, sent Mir Murtaza and Askar Khan as ambassadors to him with the following message : " He, you have behaved to Alivardi Khan and he to you, you know and he knows. I am powerless and free from guilt in this matter. I am ready to pay two lakhs of rupees for the expenses of your journey and such materials as you desire."[54] On receiving this message Mustafa rudely replied : " It is not a time for letters and messages : my two-edged sword has done and will do my work."[55] The news disheartened Zainuddin and he had no alternative but to strengthen his trenches even more than before and prepare for the worst.

When Mustafa Khan arrived within six *kos* (twelve miles) of his trenches, Zainuddin again sent Haji Âlam Khan to sue for peace, Mustafa once again gave the same insolent reply : " When an army of the heretics (*Shias*) and a force of Hindus confront me, it is my duty to fight the heretics first."[56]

Zainuddin and his men passed the entire night in watchfulness. In the morning of Thursday 18th Safar 1158 (14th March, 1745) Mustafa attacked Zainuddin's army near Azimabad. Some of his generals presented a bold stand but were wounded and fled away. Zainuddin thus had to suffer great reverses. But he never lost heart but fought bravely with a few cavalry. Soon, the tide was turned and Mustafa in spite of his advantageous position was badly defeated. Nearly three hundred of his noted chiefs and generals were slain. Muskets were incessantly fired on his troops by Jaswant Nagar and some Bahliā musketeers, with the result that most of Mustafa's men were slain. Mustafa's elephant-driver was also shot dead. The bloody fight continued on for about a week. At one time it seemed that Mustafa would be killed or taken captive. On seeing his condition the Afghans hurriedly retreated, seized the bridle of Mustafa's elephant, left the trenches and took to flight. Victorious and emboldened Zainuddin advanced to the front of the trenches, ordered the damaged wall of the entrenchment to be repaired and returned to his own tent to offer prayer to God.[57]

Mustafa remained for one week encamped in front of the trenches, continually firing his artillery. The following week, on March 21, 1745 he again rode out, and " with the speed of thunder and wind "

54. *Muzaffarnama*, 18.
55. *Ibid.*, 18.
56. *Ibid.*, 18 ; *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 450-51.
57. *Muzaffarnama*, 18-14 ; *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 458-62 ; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-26.

forced his way into the trenches, leaving a *dastā* (battalion) of his troops to face the trenches of Ahmad Khan and Sheikh Jahan Yar. When he arrived opposite Zainuddin, he saw the men of the trenches dispersed and hard pressed. Seeing this he fearlessly ran towards Zainuddin, but his advance was, opposed by Diwan Kirat Chand and Maharaja Ram Narain who had in the mean time arrived with their guns. By chance a musket-bullet hit Mustafa's one eye and blind him. Bleeding and injured he fled away to his tent. Zainuddin soon sent a report of his victory to Alivardi who had arrived within two days' march of time.[58]

Zainuddin pursued and vanquished the Afghans through Naubatpur (18 miles south-west of Patna-Jn. Rly. Station) and Muhib Alipur (on the east bank of the Son, 19 miles south-west of Naubatpur), and compelled them to retire to the south-west of the Son river.[59] At Muhib Alipur Zainuddin heard of the arrival of Alivardi near Patna and soon joined him. The Nawab, along with Zainuddin, quickly chased the Afghans beyond the frontiers of Bihar as far as Zamania, opposite to Ghazipur.[60] Alivardi returned to the seat of his government, after embracing his brother and his brother's son Zainuddin.[61]

This expulsion, however, did not damp the indomitable spirit of Mustafa. After four months he assembled another army and acquired greater power than before. After this, he along with his son Murtaza Khan and others allied with some Shahabad zamindars and once again marched towards Bihar. First he entered the Shahabad district where the zamindars, especially Udawant Singh Ujjainia of Jagdishpur, were hostile to Zainuddin.[62] Zainuddin also marched from Azimabad and advanced as far as Karhani (in Shahabad). The Afghans had already arrived at a place, two miles beyond the village of Karhani.

The two armies at last met on the bank of the river Son. A sharp battle ensued on the 20th June, 1745.[63] Zainuddin's ranks were broken in spite of the heavy shower of fire from his artillery and muskets. After a furious chase Mustafa compelled the vanguard of Zainuddin's army under Kirat Chand to run away from the battle-field. Daud Khan was killed and Khadim Hussain Khan, the *darogha* of the *Khasbardars* (orters of the rulers own weapons) fell down, dangerously

58. *Muzaffarnama* (*op. cit.*), p. 15.
59. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I. pp. 110-16.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 443; *Mazaffarnama*, 15.
62. *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 465.
63. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

wounded from his horse. A great confusion followed. Mustafa advanced bravely; scattered his enemy's rank and siezed several guns and other weapons. Zainuddin's army became terror stricken. But Abdul Ali Khan, another Commander of Zainuddin's army took a bold stand. When Mustafa arrived near Zainuddin, suddenly a musket-ball entered his chest. He became senseless, and while he was thus prostrated, his *mahut* (elephant-driver) led his elephant out of the field. When he recovered his consciousness he returned to the battle-field and drove Zainuddin into hard straits. This time Raham Khan, Karam Khan, Abdul Ali Khan, and Mahdi Nisar Khan engaged in fighting him. Zainuddin shot two arrows into the side of Mustafa which killed him instantaneously. With his death, the Afghan army was completely demoralised and broken and crushed.[64]

In a moment the tide was turned Mustafa's head was cut off and was taken to Patna on the point of a spear.[65] His son and followers fled away to the village of Magror (14 miles west of Chainpur on the bank of the Karmanasa river) under the leadership of Murtaza Khan The first Afghan insurrection was thus thoroughly suppressed and Zainuddin triumphantly returned to Patna. He reported about his victory to Alivardi. In spite of such a victory, however, he could not pursue the army and plunder the property of Mustafa. Instead he returned to his seat, after the leaderless army had crossed the Ganges and rewarded his soldiers who had fought so well.[66]

The first Afghan insurrection was soon followed by another Afghan insurrection which was, however, short-lived, and of less formidable nature.

III

The distressed Afghans once again attempted to sieze power. The Afghan refugees at Magror soon appealed to Raghoji Bhonsle, the Maratha chief to help them. Raghoji invaded Bihar in September, 1745.[67] This formidable Maratha-Afghan alliance presented a serious problem to Alivardi. Moreover, the principal Afghan generals, Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan in Alvardi's army proved insincere and disloyal to him. He was treacherously betrayed by them during his fight with the Marathas on the bank of the river Son in November, 1745. They had secretly entered into intrigues with Raghoji against

64. *Muzaffarnama*, 15.

65. For details, see *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 465-69; *RS*, pp. 350-53; Datta, 125-29; *HB*, vol. II, pp. 461-63; also cf. Prof. Akhileshwar Kumar's paper, "Mustafa Khan, the Afghan Rebel", submitted to Indian History Congress, 20th Session (1957), Anand.

66. *Muzaffarnama*, 15; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 116-18.

67. *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 6-7, 16-17; Datta, p. 129; *Muzaffarnama*, 15-16.

Alivardi to share the government of Bengal with him. The Maratha chief, Raghoji escaped only due to the negligence or treachery on the part of the Afghan general, Shashir Khan of Darbhanga who led the vanguard of the Bengal army.[68] It is said that the Marathas had gained Ataullah Khan over to their side on the promise that the former would bestow on him the government of Azimabad when conquered. Moreover, they had secretly deputed the two Afghan officers from Darbhanga—Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan—to do away with Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, the governor of Bihar, for which they were promised two lakhs of rupees in addition to the Fauzdari of Darbhanga and the command of the 12,000 horse.[69] Alivardi, when he came to know of their treacherous design, dismissed them from his service in June 1746. They, however, refused to go away before their dues were fully paid. They had taken such a defiant attitude that when the Nawab sent a *Chobdar* (Serqeant-at-the Mace) to tell them to wait for some time, they ill-treated the messenger. After some skirmishes they were forcibly ejected but they next encamped at Sakrigali (the gateway between Bengal and Bihar), insisting on being paid. Finally, they along with their 6,000 men retired to Darbhanga (Tirhut). Bihar was thus finally rescued from the horrible depredations of the Marathas and the Afghans. But these defeated Afghans were destined to create a far more formidable revolution in Patna a year and half afterwards.[70]

IV

Thus, the Afghans were not finally extinguished. Greater troubles were now brewing for Alivardi. It was "a sad irony of fate that the ground for these was paved by his nephew, Zainuddin."[71] His past achievements and successful exploits against the Marathas and Mustafa Khan had practically turned his head. He became ambitious to sieze the *masnad* of Bengal by forcibly removing his old uncle Alivardi Khan.[72] With a view to executing his ambitious designs he wanted to enlist the veteran Afghan generals of Darbhanga who had been once condemned and dismissed by Alivardi Khan. He, therefore, sent a letter to Alivardi through his agent, Mir Abul Maāli, requesting his uncle to permit him to re-instate the dismissed Afghan soldiers sitting idly in their homes at Darbhanga. He also pleaded that they constituted a terrible menace to his government and that it was impossible to drive them out of the province. It would, therefore, be wise and advisable to admit these officers and their 3,000 soldiers into his service, if the expenses to be

68. *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 15-16.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

70. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 17; *RS*, p. 855; Datta, p. 130; *HB*, vol. II, p. 403; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 125-26.

71. Datta, *op.-cit.*, p. 130.

72. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 29.

incurred for their maintenance were paid from the Bengal treasury.[73] Both Alivardi and Haji Ahmad (Zainuddin's father) dissuaded him to take such action, but Zainuddin insisted.[74] Alivardi rather reluctantly consented to his proposal, simply out of foundness for his nephew.

Zainuddin, therefore, sent his trusted courtier Askar Khan[75] to the Afghans at Darbhanga. He invited them to come down to Patna and accept service in his army.[76] His invitation was gladly accepted by the Afghan generals. The latter took the *Qurān* on their hands and took the oath of fidelity to Zainuddin.[77] By the middle of December, 1747 a large body of Agghans under Shamshir Khan, his sister's son Murad Sher Khan, Sardar Khan and Bakshi Baheliā left Darbhanga. They reached Hajipur, opposite Patna, on the northern bank of the Ganges.[78] They suspected some trick on the part of Zainuddin to subpress them thoroughly and did not cross the Ganges all at once. For fifteen days negotiations continued between them and the agents of Zainuddin. Zainuddin personally went over to Hajipur and interviewed the Afghan leaders. He renewed the agreement and promises and ordered them to cross over to Patna. It was only then that they, to the number of ten thousand horse and foot, crossed the Ganges and encamped at Jāfar Khan's garden early in January, 1748[79] as directed by the Subahdar.

Sabit Jang, who was always planning how to accomplish his futile ambitions, considered the arrival of these Afghans as favourable to the success of his designs. He, therefore, sent a letter by a footman that first Haibat Jang (Zainuddin) should be slain at an interview and there after the destruction of Alivardi would be easy.[80]

By a mutual agreement, the 18th of January was fixed for a ceremonial interview of the Afghan chiefs and their followers with Zainuddin in the *Chihil Satun* or Hall of Audience at Patna. In compliance with Zainuddin's orders none of his soldiers were present in that hall. Zainuddin remained there almost undefended. Thus in his eagerness for Afghan friendship he became so blind to the situation that he forgot to take even the most necessary precautions, and as such fell a victim to the Afghan treachery and deceit. On the appointed day Zainuddin sat on the *masnad* in composure of mind for "re-assuring these villains"[81] (by the absence of his armed guards).

73. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
74. *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 30.
77. *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
78. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 30.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 31 ; *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

The Afghans formed three corps : Ahmad Panie, Murad Sher and Thakur Baheliā with 500 Afghans entered into the *Chibil Satuh* to interview the governor of Azimabad, while Shambshir Khan arrived at the centre of the city, near the Kotwal's *Chatutarā* with 8,000 or 4,000 Afghan soldiers blocking the eastern gate and the main street leading to the palace. It was then that an Afghan, named Abdur Rashid Khan, stabbed Zainuddin with dagger and Murad Sher cut him into two pieces with a violent blow of sword.[82] His limbs were cut into pieces and buried in a plot of land, now known as *Maqbera-i-Haibat Jang*, in Begumpur mohalla of the Patna City.[83]

A general confusion followed the murder of Zainuddin. Most of his officers and personal attendants were brutally slain or dangerously wounded. Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan entered Zainuddin's palace. His father Haji Ahmad (Alivardi's brother) was awfully tortured for seventeen days continuously. The Afghans found out 70 lakhs of rupees in cash, and vast quantity of jewels and bullions, lying hoarded in the palace. Haji Ahmad died on the 30th January, 1748 from the effects of inhuman torture. The members of the family of Zainuddin and Haji Ahmad became captives in the hands of the Afghans.[84]

Azimabad or Patna thus remained under the domination of the Afghans for full three months. The Afghan usurpation brought untold miseries on the inhabitants of the town. Indiscriminate plundering in the wake of the sacking of the city made people pass their days and nights in extreme terror. "Not a day passed without some houses undergoing all the horrors of violence and defilement. Dishonouring whole families became familiar, and few houses and few persons did escape the defiling hands of an unbridled soldiery, and the infamous practices of that nation of miscreats."[85]

Leaving his followers Murad Sher and others in charge of the Patna City, Shamshir Khan fixed his camp in Jafar Khan's garden[86] and prepared to oppose Alivardi who was sure to advance into Bihar to chastise him. Practically the whole of northern India was at the time infested with the Afghans. Shamshir Khan and Murad Sher gathered 40,000 cavalry and almost the same number of infantry.

82. *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 86-87 ; *RS*, p. 855, fn. 1 and 4 ; *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
83. Datta, *op. cit.*, 183.
84. *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 89-40 ; *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
85. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 40. for similar accounts by Salimullah and Wafa see Datta, *op. cit.*, quoted p. 185 ; also cf. *RS*, 855-57.
86. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 89.

On the 30th of January, 1748 Mirza Hakim Beg reported to Alivardi the heart-rendering news of the treacherous assassination of his nephew, the disgraceful end of his brother and the shocking humiliation of his daughter. Alivardi, having heard this gruesome news, immediately decided upon marching to Patna to recover the city and rescue his surviving relatives who were then prisoners in the hands of the Afghans. He summoned a council of his friends and soldiers and recounted before them all that had happened. All of them unanimously " swore on the Korān to stand by him till the last moment of their life." [87] He also received financial help from his daughter, Ghasiti Begum; her consort Nawazish Muhammad Khan, Jagat Seth and other bankers.[88]

Having completed the necessary precautions Alivardi left his camp at Amāniganj for Patna on the 29th of February, 1748 with 15,000 or 16,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. The army passing through Sakrigali on the 17th of March reached Bhagalpur and thence advanced towards Monghyr. He was also joined by Saif Khan, Governor of Purnea, with 15,000 men near Sultanganj. The Nawab halted for a few days at Monghyr, and was joined there by Raja Sunder Singh of Tikari with 1,500 cavalry and some infantry, and also by Kamgar Khan, zāmindar of Tirhut and Samai.[89] The Bengal army then marched from Monghyr and soon reached Barh on the Ganges, 84 miles east of Patna. The allied Afghan and Maratha troops under Mir Habib, Janoji, Shamshir Khan and others also advanced towards Barh to oppose the Nawab's army.[90] The city of Azimabad was left in charge of Ahmad Khan Qureshi, the Diwan of Shamshir Khan.

On the 16th April, 1748 Alivardi moved to the village of Rānichock or Rānīsārāī or Kālādiārā, eight miles west of Barh, and drew up his army on the plain. The battle commenced with brisk cannonade. A cannon-ball soon blew up the head of Sardar Khan who commanded nearly half of the Afghan army. There prevailed a general confusion among the Afghan soldiers. It was now the turn of Murad Sher Khan who, wounded by a musket-ball, fell into the *howdāh* of his elephant, and later his head was severed from his head by Nawab's general Dost Muhammad Khan. At about the same time Shamshir Khan also fell wounded from his elephant and Mirza Habib Beg, a follower of Diler Khan, a general of the Nawab, immediately cut-off his head and flung it at Alvardi's feet. The death of their leaders utterly disconcerted the Afghan soldiers who took to flight and the Marathas also soon

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 49; *RS*, p. 857, fn. 1.
90. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 50; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 188-46.

dispersed. After a few days the Nawab entered Patna City truimphantly and was overjoyed to find his daughter and relatives alive.[91] The City of Azimabad was thus delivered from the rebels' hands after full three months.

Alivardi was now determined to do away with the Afghan menace once for good. He, therefore, deputed a batch of faithful men to Darbhanga to sieze the goods and effects of the Afghans.[92] The Raja of Bettiah had kept under his protection all the women of the family of Shamshir Khan. The Raja requested the Nawab through his letter that " the families of Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan had been lodged with him by their owners, as in a place of safety ; and that should these defenceless persons be suffered to depart to some other country, he would undertake to pay to His Highness, a *nuzur* or present of three lakhs of rupees."[93]

The offer was not accepted, and a party of trustworthy men was sent to bring over the females of the Afghan chiefs. In order to frighten the Raja Alivardi personally crossed the Ganges and proceeded towards Bettia. The Raja was frightened, and made over the widow and daughters of Shamshir Khan to the Nawab's envoys. Orders were immediately sent to them to bring " those ladies in covered coaches, and with so much decency and care, so that they should never come to be defiled by any prophane eye."[94] Alivardi received them with kind and " every mark of regard and attention. "[95] After a few days he " conferred a number of favours on the whole family and at their own request sent them to Darbhanga which was their native place, and where by his order they were complemented with several villages that furnished amply to their subsistence."[96] As Siraj-ud-daula wanted to take into his *harem* the daughter of Shamshir Khan, Alivardi called her his own daughter and sent her away to her home under escort of a trusty man.[97] This generous conduct of Alivardi towards " the women of his fallen foe stands in a striking contrast to the brutal treatment of his daughter and other relatives by the Afghan rebels at Patna."[98]

91. For a detailed account of the historic battle of Ranisarai, see *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 56-57 ; *RS*, pp. 357-59 ; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-41 ; *KT*, (*JBORS*, vol. V, pp. 229-30) ; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 147-51.

92. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 58. Also cf. Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 152-54.

93. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 58.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61 ; *RS*, p. 359 ; *Muzaffarnama*, pp. 17-19.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 19. For other details, pp. 19-21.

98. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

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This Afghan menace over, Alivardi stayed at Patna for six months to arrange for the proper administration of Bihar. His grandson (Zainuddin's son) Siraj-ud-daulah was appointed Deputy-Governor of Bihar. He was, however, a nominal head, while the actual business of administration was entrusted to Raja Jankiram as his (Siraj-ud-daulah's) deputy.[99] The Nawab thereafter left Patna on the 6th November, 1748, and reached his capital, Murshidabad in truimph on the 30th November, 1748.

The Afghan insurrection of 1748 in Bihar " was indeed a potent factor in the history of India during the rest of the 18th century. It accelerated the dismemberment of the Mughal Empire and indrectly helped the rise of the Sikhs, but seriously opposed the ambition of the north-pushing Marathas at the field of Panipat in January, 1761, and kept the East India Company in Bengal in constant anxiety the N. W. Frontier policy and relations with the native states till the days of Zamān Shah (1793-1800)."[100]

99. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 68. The *Muzaffarnama*, p. 19 says that Saulat Jang had asked for the deputy-governorship of Bihar, but Alivardi declined and gave that office to Raja Jankiram.

100. Datta, *op. cit.*, 141.

1833

A DISPUTED ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF PURANDHAR

DR. A. C. BANERJEE

THE seventh Article of the Treaty of Purandhar (1 March 1776)[1] raised protracted discussions on the sovereignty of the Gaikwads in Gujarat. It provided that the territories ceded to the East India Company by Sayaji and Fatesing Gaikwad would be restored " when it is proved by their letters and sanads, granted by the former Peshwas and now in the Gaikwads' hands, that they do not possess power or authority to make such cessions."[2] " Thus was raised the moot-point whether the Gaikwad territories in Gujarat were in the nature of a *jagir* which the Poona Government alone could dispose of, or whether they were held by the Gaikwads in their own independent right."[3]

The Bombay Government naturally took a favourable view of the Gaikwads' position, for upon it depended their claim to retain the ceded territories in British possession. They referred to the partition treaty of 1759 between Damaji and the Peshwa by which, they said, " the town and pargana of Broach were included in the share allotted to Damaji, with whom and his successors, therefore, the sovereignty and power of ceding them only rested; which was plainly acknowledged by Raghoba in the treaty of Surat." They referred also to two other ' instances '—which they described as ' undeniable proofs '—of the Gaikwads ' ' unquestioned right to make cessions '. First, the Company had been collecting revenues ' from so many districts adjoining to Surat ever since October, 1759 ' on the strength of four *sanads* granted by Damaji Gaikwad. Secondly, the Poona Government did not raise any objection when the Bombay Government concluded a treaty with Fatesing in February 1778, although Mostyn ' was then actually at Poona in quality of Resident for the Company '.[4] Writing to William Hornby on 25 March, 1776 Thomas Keating gave what he called ' a succinct and distinct account of the Gujarat province since its recovery

1. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads.*
2. Remark on the Bombay Government on the treaty, 15 March, 1776 (Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, vol. III, p. 2).
3. *GB*, vol. III, p. 1.
4. Remarks on the treaty, 15 March 1776 (*GB*, vol. III, pp. 2-3).

from the Mogul Government' and from that statement drew the conclusion that Sayaji 'possesses as full and just a title to make grants of any part of his dominions as any prince in India'.[5]

Warren Hastings, however, had his doubts on this point. In his letter dated 6 May, 1776 he reminded the Bombay Government that "in the original plan of your treaty with Raghoba.....the share collected by the Gaikwads from the territories of Broach is demanded of Raghoba as one of the conditions on which he was to receive the Company's assistance." Moreover, "by the 5th article of the treaty between Raghoba and Fatesing, to which Colonel Keating made himself a party on behalf of the Company, the government and the revenues of the parganas of Broach were ceded to the Company by the former." On the basis of these facts the Governor-General came to the following conclusion: "If Raghoba, whom you then considered as Peshwa, had authority to make this cession, it follows that Fatesing is a dependent of the Maratha State, and that he can have no power to alienate any part of the territory under his immediate government without the authority of the reigning Peshwa."[6] Writing to the Bombay Government two weeks later (20 May, 1776) he invoked in support of this conclusion a political principle of very wise significance; by the Treaty of Purandhar, he said, "we suppose and admit.....that the supreme authority of the Maratha State is united in, and represented by, the Peshwa."[7] This is what the Poona Government wanted, and for the time being at least Hastings preferred to settle all outstanding questions through direct negotiations with Poona instead of recognising subsidiary parties.

The Governor-General's conclusion was challenged categorically by Hornby in his letter to the Directors dated 23 July, 1776. "If", he asked, "the Poona Government had a right to the whole Gujarat province, where was the necessity for a partition in the year 1759, when they had Damaji in their power?" The Governor-General and Council, he said, "seem not to be aware that by this decision they have in a manner guaranteed to the Poona Government an absolute right and property over the Gaikwad dominions."[8] Fatesing himself, however, admitted in his letters to Colonel Upton that "he had no authority to alienate any country"[9] and the Poona Ministers argued in their letter

5. *GB*, vol. II, pp. 5-6.

6. *GB*, vol. III, p. 10. Gense and Banaji hold Hastings 'guilty of deliberate mis-representation"; in their view the 'original plan' of the Bombay Government and the 6th Article of the Treaty of Surat do not justify his argument.

7. *GB*, vol. III, p. 10.

8. *GB*, vol. III, p. 11.

9. *GB*, vol. III, p. 18. Warren Hastings considered "his personal evidence" as "very suspicious." (*GB*, vol. III, p. 15).

to Mostyn : " You mention the division of the Gujarat country between the Peshwa and Gaikwad; but all the world knows the Gaikwad is a servant of the sarkar. If he was not a servant, why would the sarkar take half of his country, or why would he serve them ?"[10] Meanwhile the Bombay arguments appeared to have exercised some influence in Calcutta and writing on 18 August, 1777 the Governor-General authorised the Bombay Government to " retain possession of the districts ceded by Fatesing, until clearer proofs shall be afforded by him or by the (Poona) Ministers that he had no right to make these cessions."[11] This proposal was accepted by the Bombay Government on 29 October 1777 on the basis, presumably, of an elaborate minute written by the President a few days earlier.[12]

A few months later—on 28 March 1778—Warren Hastings gave his final decision on the dispute and directed the Bombay Government to " keep possession " of the territories in question " since the (Poona) Ministers have failed in producing the proofs that Fatesing did not possess power or authority to make such cessions."[13] The Ministers, however, did not accept this decision which they regarded as " contrary to the treaty,.....extraordinary " and surprising.[14] The tangle was then sought to be solved through a fresh appeal to arms.

The crucial documents throwing light on the question of the Gaikwad's sovereignty are the *sanads* and agreements[15] of the time of Madhav Rao I. But these documents do not justify the categorical conclusion that " the Gaikwads were as much the masters at Baroda as the Peshwas at Poona."[16] Whatever their original position might have been *vis a vis* the Peshwas, in the second half of the 18th century they were really the vassals of the Poona Darbar and it is not easy to recognise their right to dispose of the territories under their charge without the approval of the suzerain. The British decision in favour of the Gaikwads was obviously inspired by political motives.

10. *GB*, vol. III, p. 14.
11. *GB*, vol. III, p. 16.
12. *GB*, vol. III, pp. 16-18.
13. *GB*, vol. III, pp. 82-88.
14. *GB*, vol. III, p. 84.
15. *GB*, vol. III, pp. 28-32.
16. *GB*, vol. III, Introduction, p. xxi.

TIMUR'S HOLY WAR AGAINST THE INFIDELS OF INDIA

(Summary)

DR. M. VEDANTASASTRI

To raise the cry of religion in matters of secular interest in order to serve one's own end political or other, is not a new thing. The Mahabharat states that in the hoary past, Indra, the ruler of the Gods, raised this cry when he had to move against the sage Chyavana, and practice has not yet been out of order, though it might have changed its colours.

Sultan Mamud raised the same cry in his campaigns against India ; but what really actuated him in his project is greed of wealth, not religious fervour ; similar is the case with Timur's invasion of India.

The year 1398 is memorable in the annals of India ; it witnessed the activities of a crusader—the self-styled crusader Timurlane and the birth of another crusader, Kavirdas, a crusader of a different type.

The Mulfazat-i-Timuri *alias* Tuzuk-i-Timuri is said to be an autobiography of Timur ; and what we find in this is corroborated by the Zafarnama of Sarafuddin.

In his autobiography, Timur wants us to believe that the motive of holy war actuated him in attacking the infidels of India—just as it was done by Sultan Mamud four centuries ago. But a careful reading of his life will convince even a cursory reader that he was fired up with the imagination of leading an expedition into India, instead of into China, when he was informed of the fabulous wealth of India and the weakness of the central authority therein. His first attack upon the Kators and Siyaposhes near Indarab was due to the fact that they exacted backmail and tribute from the true believers and as King of Islam he thought it proper to punish them. Then this King of Islam captured a fort in an island in the Jhelum that belonged to Shahabuddin, himself a Muslim. Certainly the motive of Timur here was not actuated by the idea of holy war ; and his next attack or Nusarat Khokkar as well as on Sarang, a Muslim chief of Multan tells the same tale. Then he encountered Rao Dulchand and his brother Kamaluddin ; and

after having crushed the Hindus of Saraswati, he took Loni, where the Hindus, under Maller Khan, Wazier at Delhi offered a stiff fight. After that he met Emperor Mamud near Delhi, before which he massacred one lakh Hindus in cold blood. The capital was sacked, because it had a majority of Hindu inhabitants. Next he took Mirat from Illiyas Afghan; and having crushed the Hindus of the Ganges as well as the Siwalik mountains, he took Nagarkot for which he had to measure swords with a number of chiefs, one of which was Shaikha, a Muslim. Then he took Jammu which belonged to the Emperor and demanded a heavy tribute from Shah Iskandar, the ruler of Kashmir.

All these show that Timur fought the Hindus and Mussalmans of India, who offered him a united front; and thus his theory of holy war was but a cloak for his greed for wealth as well as for political domination.

And from this invasion came out two things in bright perspective:—

(1) Before a foreign aggressor proclaiming zihad, the Hindus and the Muslims stood united and fought bravely and thus Timur could score nowhere an easy victory.

(2) The cry of Islam raised by Timur failed to hoodwink the Indian Muslims and this clearly brings home the fact that communal feeling in the 14th and 15th century was less acute than what prevailed in India in 1947; and it is also a fact that another crusader, I mean Kavir, went a long way in cementing Indian unity.

1838

MUGHAL GOVERNORS AND THE RAJA OF KHURDA IN ORISSA DURING JAHANGIR'S RULE

(Summary)

DR. BHABANI CHARAN RAY

ORISSA under Jahangir entered into a period of conflict between the Mughal Governors and the Raja of Khurda. The object of the Mughal Governors was to reduce the Raja of Khurda to submission because the Raja, as a descendant of the Hindu royal family of Orissa, was proud of his position. Moreover he was the superintendent of the temple of Jagannath. So he was considered as the custodian of the religion of the people. Thus he had religious influence of the people behind him.

During the governorship of Hashim Khan Dash, Purusottam Deva the Raja of Khurda fought against him. But he was forced to sign a humiliating treaty. When Mukarrham Khan indulged in his iconoclastic activities he again raised the standard of rebellion. He was defeated, even fled away from his country but did not surrender to the Mughals. After his death his son Narasingh Deva occupied the throne of Khurda. Ahmad Beg the Governor of Orissa asked him to send his family to Cuttack as security for his good behaviour. The Raja defied his order. So his country was invaded. This invasion was intervened because of the arrival of Shahjahan from the Deccan. The Raja won the favour of this rebellious prince and consequently established his power firmly in his country. After the departure of Shahjahan from Orissa, Ahamad Beg again acted as Governor. But the Raja remained firm in his position and refused to surrender to the Mughal authority.

1839

MUSLIM LADIES IN INDIA

(Summary)

SHRI S. K. PAUL

IT is generally stated that Islamic injunction does not allow any Muslim lady to participate in public life. Be it true or not, it is a fact, that a good many Muslim ladies had cast tremendous influence in politics in India and the adjoining islands.

Ibn Batuta, who visited India in the mid-fourteenth century informs us in his Rehala that a Muslim lady with the designation Sultan was ruling Maladwip, when he visited the island. The same authority writes that Rijiya appeared in public before she became Sultan. During the Khalji regime, we notice the influence of the Begums upon the political career of Alauddin, one of whose wives succeeded in disposing of Malik Kafur in favour of her son Mubarak.

During the Mogul period, we first meet Gulbadan Begum who was a writer too. Next we meet Hamida Banu who had considerable influence upon her husband Humayun, son Akbar and grandson Selim. It is to be remembered in this context that during the early years of Akbar's reign, Maham Anga, his nurse, succeeded in establishing a petticoat government.

Next we come across Nurjahan whose influence upon the political move of Jahangir is too well-known to ignore. After Nurjahan, Mumtaz. She was not so meddling as Nurjahan but nevertheless her influence on Shahjahan cannot be denied.

After Mumtaz, we notice the influence of Jahanara on Shahjahan which caused Prince Aurangzeb to feel jealous of her. Then comes Rausanara and noticeable is her authority during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. His daughter Zeb-un-nisa was a cultured lady and composed "Makhfi" but her influence on politics was not perhaps keenly felt. In this context, the daughters of Dara and Shuja cannot be easily passed over. The former guided Prince Azam, whom she married in all his political career; and the latter completely changed the course of the life of Mahammad Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb.

Lal Kunwar was the most favourite concubine of Jehandare Shah and the influence of Lal as well as of her associate Zohra is well-marked in Indian history.

In the reign of Farruk Siyar, a lady Kokiji was raised to the rank of a minister; and several years later, we find Malika-us-zamani taking part in politics. Finally in the last phase of the Imperial House of Babar, we meet Zinnat Mahal, as one of the champions of the unsuccessful War of Independence in 1857.

Coming to Oudh, we find the authority of the mother as well as the wife of Shujauddulah upon him; and in Rokhilkhand, it was the activity of the wife of Hafiz Rahamat Khan and his daughter that ultimately led to the death of the said Shuja.

In the South, we meet the incomparable Chand Sultana as well as the dowager queen of Bijapur, at whose instance Afzal rushed to meet Shivaji.

In Bengal, the influence of Zinnat-un-nissa upon her son Sujauddin, of Sharifunissa Begum upon her husband Aliveradi Khan and of Lutfunnissa upon Sirajuddullah is well-known. But the most prominent lady that tried to control the course of politics there in her favour was the indomitable Ghesiti Begum, eldest daughter of Aliverdi, Moni Begum, wife of Mirzaffar, was highly respected by the East India Company, for which she passed by the designation, mother-i-company. Finally we shall speak of Mastani. It is an accepted fact that the political career of Baji Rao I was ably guided by Mastani, who loved him from the very core of her heart.

DEATH OF SHIVAJI

(Summary)

PROFESSOR S. R. PHADKE,

MYSTERY still surrounds the death of Shivaji. He died at the early age of fifty. The causes attributed for his death can be divided into three groups :—(1) Supernatural cause like the curse of Fakir. (2) Illness due to fever or blood dysentery or inflammation of the knee-joint and (3) poisoning by Soyrabai.

First group lacks utter support while second group finds favour with many. But the third group is summarily rejected by many. This third possibility cannot be totally rejected but must be given a proper hearing at the bar of history till more conclusive proof comes forward to prove or disprove any of the three beliefs.

The main points in this connection, which require more detailed study are—(1) Why and when the question of partitioning the kingdom came before Shivaji—Whether at the instance of Sambhaji's misbehaviour and immoral ways of life or at the instance of Soyrabai's selfish greed. (2) Why partition did not materialise—was it because of Sambhaji's refusal alone or due to Shivaji's cleverness as well. (3) Activities of Soyrabai in pursuing her end to the last. A close study reveals that Shivaji constantly evaded partitioning the kingdom and guarded Sambhaji's interest to the end. This possibly made Soyrabai hasten the death of Shivaji.

Shivaji got no time to make arrangements for the future as the death was sudden and hence his death was followed by plots and counterplots for which no one but lesser element in human nature alone should be held responsible.

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SECTION III

MODERN INDIA

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PROFESSOR KARIM ALI SAJUN LAL

I WISH, at the outset, to express my deep sense of gratitude for the signal honour you have done by electing me as the President of the Modern Section of this learned body. But when I consider the responsibilities and privileges involved, I some times feel that you have been extravagant in your kindness and generosity.

With the dawn of Independence, scholars of Modern Indian History, have been faced with new problems, the most serious of which is revivalism inspired by pseudo patriotic fervour as a reaction to the imperialist prejudice exhibited by many scholars in the past. The tendency to glorify the past is but natural for a citizen and politician of a recently emancipated country, but a historian has a duty to himself and to his country to present an objective account of events, and not play the second fiddle to politicians. This implies preparedness for a dispassionate and critical estimate of men and events based on comprehensive and objective scrutiny of facts drawn from source materials which are luckily remarkable for their richness and variety.

These source materials consist of Parliamentary papers, official and private correspondence, itineraries and routine Government records, formal histories, biographies, memoirs, diaries, press reports and political pamphlets, etc. No doubt " considering the vast scope of the subject and the volumes of available material " in many languages, Indian and foreign, preserved in different archives separated by vast distances, it is obvious that the writing of the History of Modern India demands tremendous financial resources and human efforts.

Most of the works published so far can be divided under three categories :—

(*i*) Some works aim at objective history and are crammed with facts and are tinged by the prevailing theories of imperialism. We may include under this category the works of James Mill, Marshman, Beveridge, Kayes, Ornel, Grant Duff, Malcolm, etc.

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(*ii*) Some historians like, Garret, Thompson, Dodwell and Roberts do attempt at a dispassionate analysis. But these scholars do not view things from the point of view of Indians.

(*iii*) R. C. Dutt dwelt mainly upon the economic aspect of the British Rule in India, while Major Basu's history is overcast with patriotic fervour and smacks of nationalist propaganda.

If we carefully analyse the causes of this state of affairs, one has to remember the various handicaps under which the European and Indian scholars had to work during the British rule, such as :—

(*a*) Lack of access to all relevant sources.

(*b*) Lack of knowledge of various languages in which materials are buried by one individual scholar (Persian, Portuguese, Dutch, English, Marathi, Bengali, etc.).

(*c*) Official seal of secrecy on Government transactions. Documents were made available upto a certain date and that too under archives supervision and Government sanction.

(*d*) Fear of the British officials who would not brook criticism of their rule in India.

(*e*) Records are not situated in one place. They have to be consulted in the Record Rooms at India Office, London ; National Archives at Delhi and various libraries in India and in the European Capitals.

Here I would say that " it is enough that our knowledge of history, do what we may, may not be quite accurate and absolutely correct in all its details from the imperfection of the material, and even the minds that go to work upon it ; but we are bound in honour, nay even common honesty, to set ourselves down to write history merely to tell the tale of what had actually happened, and to the utmost extent possible, as accurately as we can get at that. It is then that history becomes a study of value, and value as a record of actual human experience. It is then and then only we make use of it for studying the evolution and progress in the past to know what promoted real progress and what prevented it, and thereby cultivating a critical judgment, which would eschew all that is actually evil, or is likely to be productive of evil. That and that alone is the real teaching of history and the function of historians to serve honestly the Muse with that ideal before him."

Since our country has become independent, you will all agree with me, the atmosphere for conducting historical research is very favourable. The sympathetic co-operation of the Government of India, is most useful

in breaking the barriers. Almost all the records are made available. An attempt is also made to secure the transfer of the Records of India Office from London to Delhi. Encouragement is given for the study of various European and Oriental languages. Grants-in-aid are also given to Institutions and individuals, participating in the writing of an objective history of Modern India. Foreign writers are now looking at it from a truly historical perspective.

Much work has been done in the field of political history, but very little seems to have been attempted in other fields of history, say the economic, military, naval, and freedom history.

To take the last first, the States of Madhya Pradesh and the former State of Hyderabad and Bihar have published their freedom histories. The Bombay Government has published the source material in two volumes. But there are no monographs from the pen of our scholars about Charles Bradlaugh, William Digby, Cotton and others who have done so much for our country. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah's History of the Congress is a standard work, but why is it that the State Congress Committee do not supplement it?

Speaking about the freedom history of the States, I would rather suggest that source material should be published first before writing a definitive history, as I feel we are so close to the events of immediate past. The difficulty becomes greater when it is done under the official patronage.

Some workers have no doubt been in the field of economic history. Among the recent publications on the subject, mention may be made of about those of Dr. A. Tripathi, Dr. Bhattacharya and Dr. N. K. Sinha, but there is much more to be done and more and more scholars should take up this neglected but very interesting line of study.

Now there is not much hindrance for one to peruse the records pertaining to the military ad naval history. Dr. Bisheshwar Pershad has paved the way for others by publishing a number of volumes of War History. When are we going to take up the study of our naval history?

Our cultural contacts with the Middle East and Far East countries need not be emphasised. Thanks to the late Maulana Azad, we have now the Indian Council of Cultural Relations. Our scholars should take full advantage of the Indian Council for further studies of these countries.

A study of the psychological background, geographical environment, the social and political atmosphere under which the makers of Indian history functioned, will enable us to unveil the mystery that

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envelops them, and enable us to evaluate properly and without bias their actions. For example the vacillations of Raja Ranjit Singh, the rôle of Bahadur Shah during the great events of 1857, the rift between Sir Sayyid and the National Congress, the attitude of Lord Minto towards the National Congress and the demand for reforms, may be better appraised when viewed from this perspective. This is an important aspect of work which has not been given the attention that it deserves.

Having said so much about studies in history, I now turn my attention to the work of the National Archives and the State Record Offices. Though a number of volumes have been published yet much remains to be done. What I request is that the publication programme should be hastened up. In other States much remains to be done. The Bombay State, as usual, has taken the lead. The Panjab, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and others are not lagging behind. Still there are many States who have not begun any publication. The publication of descriptive catalogues of the States Records is the urgent need of the day. Here I would suggest that the descriptive catalogues when compiled should be systematically classified and scientifically edited. The place where each document mentioned in the catalogue is to be found should be specified. It would thus be possible for future research students to know at a glance where the materials relating to their subjects are to be found. It would also spare them a good deal of time and expense.

The Bombay Historical Society took the lead in the publication of Bibliography of Indian History and Indology. It published a few volumes and it discontinued its work. This work was taken up by Prof. G. M. Moraes for a few years. Now I am glad to say that Dr. K. K. Datta has published, "A Survey of the Recent Studies on Modern Indian History," which is a useful annotated bibliography of Indian History from the 18th century. I would suggest that the publication of bibliography should be one of the aims and objects of the Indian History Congress. These artifacts, as said earlier, would be of great help to scholars.

Now I come to the subject, the Urdu Press—a subject dear to me. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who during the tenure of office as the Governor-General of India, passed the Act XI of 1835, giving full freedom of expression to the people, earned the undying distinction of being the Liberator of the Indian Press. From that time onwards upto the outbreak of the Mutiny and the post-Mutiny period, the contributions made by the contemporary Urdu and other language newspapers, have added to the wealth of very delightful topical information pertaining to Indian History.

As sources for the study of the mid-nineteenth century period of Indian History, these newspapers have an abiding value. They reveal the inner history of great and small national events of their time, presenting historical personages and characters in their true perspective. The little incidents of everyday life, rumours of the Court, society scandals, country-side gossips, movements of armies, the enactment of laws and the slow but steady growth of public opinion, etc., give us an insight into the thoughts and actions of our forefathers. To read these contemporary newspapers is to enter into the life of the bygone days, and to accompany the editor, correspondent and the news letter-writer through the nook and corner of the vast sub-continent of India, seeing it as they did through their eyes, watching their struggle with the local authorities through cumbersome proceedings of the courts of law.

These newspapers describe the rise or decay of religious sects and also the change in literary taste. They portray the manners and customs of successive generations and even record the revolutions which have taken place in dress and public amusements. In short it may be said that these newspapers place before us a true picture of the life of our forefathers.

Reflecting as they do the public opinion on the burning topics of the day, these newspapers also offer a sure index to the popular reaction to a given measure, but one must be careful of the editorial comment, as it is likely to share the political bias of a particular party. The news columns also supply chronological data and the advertisements reveal interesting material about social and economic history.

It is my firm conviction that no book dealing with this important period could be considered as being complete unless and until the historian includes therein facts alluded to above after delving deep into these volumes. These contemporary sources give information from the point of view of the public whereas the State Papers and Government Records preserved in the Archives represent official views.

It is, therefore, my appeal to the historians in general and to the Indian History Congress, in particular, to take full advantage of this kind of material.

Before I close my address, I have to sound a note of caution that in the enthusiasm of independence, we have no right whatever to make history subservient to our immediate objectives, however good they might be in themselves, and the value of history is lost completely for good by the slightest interference with the recording of its actual course.

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THE PĀNCHĀLAMKURICHI REBELLION (1797-99)

Dr. K. K. Pillay

Vira Pāṇḍyan Kaṭṭabomman, the Pōlegār of Pāñchālamkuṛichi, his aims and achievements as well as his relations with the English East India Company have recently become subjects of acute controversy. On the one hand, there are the British accounts which depict him as a turbulent chieftain and freebooter. On the other, there have appeared at present several journalists and politicians who have attempted to make a great hero of Kaṭṭabomman, considering him as the first of the valiant fighters of South India against the British in the cause of freedom. The celebration of the anniversary of the '1857 Rebellion' has provided an additional impetus to this tendency, and it is time that the sources of history relating to the period were assessed properly and the conclusions drawn impartially.

The records of the Madras Government constitute the most important of the sources for this period. The Revenue and Military Consultations contain the correspondence between the Government and the local officials. The Despatches which passed between the Madras Government and the Board of Directors in England provide valuable reviews of the situation from time to time. No systematic attempt seems to have been made yet to study these documents and evaluate them. There is little justification to discredit the reliability of these records. The imperialist motive which could have prompted the writers to give a coloured version of the events and personalities had not yet appeared. The position of the British in India was still insecure, and the officials of the Company were bound to provide their superiors with true account of the happenings. Little could they have imagined that their correspondence would become the source materials of history.

The ballads and folk-songs which have glorified Kaṭṭabomman are for the most part sentimental creations of talented writers under the spell of a popular desire to lionize the Pāñchālamkuṛichi Pōlegār. As sources of history they can hardly be considered reliable. An attempt is made in this paper to examine the data furnished by the records and assess the truth regarding Kaṭṭabomman and his relations with the British.

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Pāñchālamkuṛichi, of which Kaṭṭabomman Nāyak became the Pōlegār in 1791, is located in the Tinnevelly district. In shape it was an irregular parallelogram, two sides of which were about 500 feet in length and the other two sides about 300 feet. Its revenue as it stood in 1798 was between 42,600 chuckrams and 61,600 chuckrams. The annual tribute of the Pōlegary was assessed at 6,600 chuckrams.[1] Authentic information regarding the origin of the Nāyak chieftancy over Pāñchālamkuṛichi is not available. The popular tradition, that the ancestor of Kaṭṭabomman had come from the Telugu country in 1101 A.D. and settled down in the south in order to escape from the cruelties of a Muslim Governor, is clearly anachronistic. It is significant that Pāñchālamkuṛichi does not figure as one of the Pāḷayams in the time of Viswaṇātha Nāyak (1529-64). Presumably it appeared later. However, the history of the Pōlegārs of Pāñchālamkuṛichi is traceable from 1707 A.D. by the help of details gathered by W. C. Jackson, the Collector of Ramnad.

During the time of Pollāppāṇḍya Nāyakar, the Pōlegār between 1736 and 1760, the Company undertook an expedition against Pāñchālamkuṛichi, but did not succeed in subduing it. Since then, hostile relations continued between the Pōlegārs of Pāñchālamkuṛichi and the British.

In the last quarter of the 18th century the extreme south of India was under a dyarchical arrangement. The Nawāb of Ārcot, as the vassal of the Mughal Emperor, had administrative authority over the entire Carnatic. When the Nawab became an ally of the East India Company, he concluded a treaty with them in 1781 by which the Nawāb entrusted to the Company the collection of the revenue in the Tinnevelly region. In 1785 the Nawāb withdrew this right from the Company and it was not until 1790 that it was again restored to them. Thus by the time that Kaṭṭabomman became the Pōlegār in 1791, the Company had secured the right of collecting the revenue from the southern region. Soon disputes arose between Kaṭṭabomman and the Company over the collection of the revenue.

Not only did Kaṭṭabomman fail to pay the kist (revenue due to the Company), but he also helped the rebels of Ramnad in 1797 against the British. Besides, he disregarded the duties required of him, like supplying provisions for the army. On top of these, Kaṭṭabomman carried on depradations into Eṭṭayāpuram, which was a tributary of the Company.[2]

1. *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 98 B., pp. 2871-2, 8 November 1799. A. chucram was equivalent to 1/28th of a Rupee, worth about half an anna.

2. *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 89, pp. 3869-70, 15 October 1798.

Jackson, the Collector wrote to the Pōlegār demanding the tribute. But Kaṭṭabomman disregarded it although he had collected from the inhabitants the Dēśakāval fees of the succeeding year as well.[3] Another charge levelled against the Pōlegār was that he collected unjustifiable exactions from the Company's weavers. Jackson had reasons to conclude that Kaṭṭabomman was guilty of debauchery and that he was under the influence of wicked counsellors who led him into evil ways.[4] Jackson accused him of having harassed the inhabitants of Pāñchālamkuṛichi to pay him as Dēśakāval fees which they had not been paying before. It was alleged that he had sent to the Choultry 30 peons, who seized the villagers and flogged them until they paid 45 chuckrams and that the peons plundered the villagers of paddy and jewels.[5] Kaṭṭabomman replied that the collection of Dēśakāval from the people of Pāñchālamkurichi was an age-long right of the Pōlegār, and in this assertion he was no doubt right. The real grievance of the Collector was that the arrears of the kist due to the Company were not paid. He accused him also of rebellious conduct and remissness in not responding to the call of the Collector to interview him at Ramnad.[6]

Meanwhile Kaṭṭabomman's harassment of the weavers continued. They were compelled to pay more than the legitimate fees, and failure to pay the required amount was punished with flogging.[7] The weavers could not move about freely for fear of molestation by the Pōlegār's men. A complaint from Shiva Sūrien dated 18th July, 1798 stated that at Congreykkuṛichi, the son of the Dēśakāval, Moṇigar Daḷawāy Kumāraswāmi Pillai, and 2000 armed men surrounded the village and seized all the weavers. They carried off 17 weavers with their hands tied behind as far as Karkuḷam hills where they flogged them severely and fixed bloodsuckers upon them. Kaṭṭabomman's men are stated to have thrown mud into the mouths of the women relatives of the weavers and plundering their houses of everything.[8] Moreover, juice of the 'milk hedge' (a variety of prickly pear) was poured into the eyes of the weavers. Several men had their teeth pulled out and many were flogged with slippers.[9]

Even repeated complaints of the Collector to the authorities at Madras about Kaṭṭabomman's misbehaviour had no effect. At first they counselled him to settle the matter amicably. Eventually,

3. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 204, p. 4829, 8 June 1798.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 4833. The same view was held by Lushington. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 225, p. 3276, 15 April 1799.
5. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 204, p. 4842, 18 June 1798.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. 206, p. 5659, 30 July 1798.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 5660.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 5662.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 5663-64.

however, on August 18, 1798, the Collector was permitted to summon Kaṭṭabomman to appear at the Cutcherry at Ramnad within 15 days. Accordingly the Pōlegār was asked to meet the Collector at Ramnad on September 5, 1798.

Kaṭṭabomman was not apparently prepared to defy the Company at that stage, and he prepared himself to obey the order. Hearing that the Collector had come to Tirukkuṛṛālam, Kaṭṭabomman proceeded thither with his armed men on 27th August. Jackson was surprised to see the Pōlegār accompanied by his soldiers. Refusing to meet him there, the Collector promised to grant him the interview at Chockampaṭṭi. But there again he put it off to Śivagiri. Similar procrastination continued[10] all through the way down to Ramnad. Jackson granted interviews to other Pōlegārs at the various stations and received kists from them. It was obvious that he adopted a vindictive attitude towards Kaṭṭabomman.[11]

For 28 days Kaṭṭabomman and his retinue had meekly accompanied the Collector over a distance of nearly 400 miles. Eventually on 19th September, both the parties reached Ramnad, and on the 20th the interview was granted. The armed followers of Kaṭṭabomman were not allowed to enter the fort. The Pōlegār, accompanied by his vakil Śivasūbrahmaṇia Pillai, otherwise known as Thānāpathi Pillai, entered the Cutcherry. The Pōlegār and his vakil were compelled to stand before the Collector for about three hours answering questions. Copies of letters which had been sent to Kaṭṭabomman were read out to him, and he was asked whether he had received them all. He replied that most of the letters had been received by him, though he could not be sure of some others. Finally Kaṭṭabomman was asked to stay inside the Fort until the Collector received a reply from the Government as to the treatment to be accorded to him. The Pōlegār expressed his inability to do so on account of his late illness. Suddenly some Sepoys attempted to capture him and his Vakil. This made them seek their way out of the Fort.[12] Father Vellayan, a faithful follower of Kaṭṭabomman as well as the Pōlegār's brother, Umatturai had come inside the fort, and noticing the developments, they signalled to the armed men, who, thereupon joined the Pōlegār. The Collector's troops immediately appeared on the scene, and a clash followed. Some Sepoys on either side were killed in the scuffle, as also the the Adjutant, Lieut. Clark. The question whether Clark was killed by Kaṭṭabomman himself or by one of his soldiers became later a much disputed one. Jackson held

10. *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 88, pp. 3103-4, 2 October 1798, and pp. 3111-61.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. 89, pp. 3377-8, 15 October 1798. Also *Board's Consultations*, vol. 210, p. 7140, 27 September 1798.

12. *Revenue Board's Consultations*, vol. 211, pp. 7578-9.

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that Kaṭṭabomman slew him and produced the affidavits of three cloth merchants in support of his allegation.[13] But Kaṭṭabomman pleaded that he did not kill Clark, and later, the Committee of enquiry too, thought the probably Clark died at the hands of a soldier.

At the scuffle Thānāpathi Pillai was captured ; but Kaṭṭabomman and many others escaped.[14] On their way from Ramnad they plundered the villages. The Company's treasury at Tuticorin was attacked and forcibly taken. Umatturai plundered the storehouses of the English on the pretext that the alien Englishmen had unjustifiably deprived the labouring natives of their grain. Kaṭṭabomman himself, soon after reaching home appears to have made preparations for war,[15] though he professed loyalty to the British. He wrote to the Governor and to the Commanding Officer at Tuticorin ascribing the unpleasant occurrences at Ramnad to the conduct of the Collectori[16], and made a fervent plea for the release of Thānāpathi Pillai.[17]

But Kaṭṭabomman's harassments of the people of the adjoining region continued. A letter of January 15, 1799 from the Pōlegār of Eṭṭiyapōre to the Collector complains about Kaṭṭabomman's atrocities. Five hundred armed persons, accompanied by 200 coolies, marched into Achaṅkuḷam within the jurisdiction of Eṭṭiyapōre, and after having forcibly cut down 800 bundles of Kombu grain, returned home.[18] It is noteworthy that the same complainant alleged that Kaṭṭabomman had allied himself with the Pōlegārs of Nāgalāpore, Kaḍalakkuḍi, Mēl-moṇḍi, Koḷattūr and other places and that he was contemplating plunder on a large-scale. The Pōlegār of Eṭṭiyapōre complained to the Collector again on January 20, 1799, that Kaṭṭabomman's men had carried away some bullocks from Eḷavēndal, a Sirkar village.[19]

Jackson was not taken in by Kaṭṭabomman's loyalty. He continued to urge the Governor for taking action against him. But the Governor was eager to offer Kaṭṭabomman an opportunity for a peaceful settlement with the Company. The Government published a Proclamation calling upon the Pōlegār to submit to the Company assuring him of an impartial investigation into the Ramnad incident.[20] The Govern-

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 7589-90.

14. *Rev. Consultations*, vol. 88, pp. 3104-10 ; 3113-9, 2 October 1798 ; and vol. 89, pp. 3878-85, 15 October 1798.

15. *Ibid.*, vol. 89, pp. 3214-16, 13 October 1798.

16. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 211, pp. 7576-9 22, October 1798.

17. *Rev. Consultations*, vol. 88, p. 3103, Sept. 28 1798 ; pp. 3111-8, 2 October 1798 ; and pp. 3119-20.

18. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 218, p. 801, 20 January 1799.

19. *Ibid.*, vol. 218, p. 814.

20. *Rev. Con.*, vol. 88, pp. 3123-7., 4 October 1798.

ment also ordered the release of Thānāpathi Pillai who was instructed to advise his master to submit to the Company.[21] The Governor rightly realized that Jackson had developed an inveterate prejudice against Kaṭṭabomman and that it was impossible to expect him to tackle the situation tactfully. Jackson had really worked himself into a fury and he was partly responsible for the bitterness between Kaṭṭabomman and the Company. Jackson was threfore suspended from his post and Major-General Floyd was asked to open negotiations with Kaṭṭabomman.[22]

Accordingly Major-Geneal Floyd issued a Proclamation and Kaṭṭabomman agreed to submit to the Company.[23] Thereupon the Governor appointed a Committee to investigate into the Ramnad incident.[24] Kaṭṭabomman proceeded to Ramnad and explained his position to the Committee,[25] which after a thorough investigation submitted its report to the Government. It was concluded that Kaṭṭabomman's actions had been misunderstood to a certain extent and that Jackson's conduct towards him was unduly harsh. The humiliation to which Kaṭṭabomman was subjected on account of his having had to follow Jackson for 28 days through the territories of other and inferior Pōlegārs and the added agony which he had to suffer at the interview could well have been avoided. The Committee felt that Kaṭṭabomman must have had apprehensions about his personal safety as a consequence of which he effected his escape. Moreover the Committee took the view that Lieut. Clark was stabbed not by Kaṭṭabomman himself but by a pike man in the Pōlegār's train. Hence Kaṭṭabomman was acquitted of this charge. But in so far as he was responsible for the actions of his followers it was decreed that Kaṭṭabomman was to make a provision equal to the salary and allowances of the late Clark for the support of his widow and children.[26]

The organisation of Revolt:

Though it seemed that Kaṭṭabomman was reconciled with the British, he had by no means forgotten his hostility towards them. He sought peace but as a temporary expedient in order to strengthen his position. While professing loyalty to the British he was busily engaged

21. *Ibid.*, vol. 89, p. 8135, 8 October 1798.

22. *Rev. Despatch to England.* vol. VI, pp. 342-3, 15 October 1798. *Rev. Cons.* vol. 88, p. 8134, 8 October 1798 and *Ibid.*, p. 8134 and *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 89, p. 8211, 13 October 1798.

23. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 89, pp. 8521 and 8589, 17 October 1798.

24. *Rev. Despatch to England*, vol. VI, pp. 397-8, 15 October 1798.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 398-9, 15 October 1798.

26. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 94, pp. 554-61, 1 March 1799 and *Rev. Despatches to England*, vol. VI, 15 October 1798.

in war-like preparations. He collected a large body of armed men.[27] The fortifications were strengthened and the entrances to his territory were carefully guarded.[28] Moreover, he organised a league of the Pōlegārs of Tinnevelly and Rāmnad against the Company. This league included among its members the Pōlegārs of Yellayarumpunnai, Nāgālapuram, Kōḷārpeṭṭy, Kaḍalakkuḍi and Kuḷattūr.[29] Besides, realizing the importance of the fort of Śivagiri, he planned to get possession of it. Fortunately for him a civil war broke out between the Pōlegār of Śivagiri and his son; the League immediately sent forces in support of the rebel son. As Śivagiri was a tributary of the Company, this move of the League was considered an open challenge to the British authority.[30] Kaṭṭabomman also entered into alliance with the disaffected chieftains of Ramnad, Śivagaṅga and Diṇḍigul. It is further learnt that this alliance of the rebels extended to Malabār, Mysore and the Dekkan.[31] He is known to have established contacts with Dhoṇḍia Wāhāg, a turbulent Maratha rebel, and through him, with the rebels of Malabār and Mysore.

The opportunity for rebellion arose when the British became involved in the Mysore war. The rebels of Kaḍalakkuḍi entered Ramnad and attacked the villages of Gōpālapuram and Aruppukkoṭṭai.[32] The rebels harassed the people who had entered the service of the Company.[33] Kaṭṭabomman withheld the payment of the kist as well as the amount fixed for the family of the late Clark.[34]

Meanwhile S. R. Lushington had succeeded Jackson as the Collector and he summoned Kaṭṭabomman to Ramnad. But without the permission of the Collector Kaṭṭabomman went there accompanied by his armed men. On the way he and his men encamped at Palamerri Since Ramnad was in a state of rebellion on account of scarcity of food, the Collector feared that Kaṭṭabomman's march would create a dangerous situation.[35]

27. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 88, p. 3187, Sept, 1798.

28. *Ibid.*, vol. 88 B, pp. 3121-28, 2 October 1798.

29. *Ibid.*, vol. 98, p. 2770, 8 November 1799.

30. *Ibid.*, vol. 101, p. 361, and pp. 365-6, January 1800; and vol. 97, pp. 2418-20, September 1799. (Letter of the Governor-General to the Board of Revenue dated 19 August 1799.

31. *Pol. Cons.*, vol. 5, p. 1688, 22 December 1801; *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 107, p. 216, February 1801. *Military Cons.*, vol. 283, p. 3445 and 3498-3501, 22 May 1801 and *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 99, p. 3321, 6 December 1799.

32. *Military Consultations*, vol. 254, p. 3886, 12 June 1799; vol. 256, p. 4579, 5 August 1799; and *Rev.Cons.*, vol. 98A, p. 2744, 14 September 1799.

33. *Public Consultations*, vol. 236, pp. 1982-4, June 1799.

34. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 96, pp. 1562-9, August 1799; and vol. 97, p. 2419, September 1799.

35. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 96, pp. 1562-70, August 1799.

Bannerman's final triumph:

By this time the British had won the war with Mysore, and therefore their forces were diverted to the south to quell the rising there. Major Bannerman was put in command of these forces and was given extensive powers to deal with the situation effectively. Bannerman and his lieutenant Trichborne succeeded in defeating the rebels at Palamerri. The rebels suffered heavy losses and many who fell into the British hands were executed. But the country continued to be restless on account of drought and scarcity of grain. Therefore Bannerman posted Trichborne at Kummuḍi in order to prevent people gathering together in large numbers.[36]

On 1st September 1799, Major Bannerman delivered an ultimatum to Kaṭṭabomman to meet him at Pāḷayamkōṭṭai on the 4th. As usual the Pōlegār professed a submissive attitude, but pleading that the day specified was inauspicious, he did not attend on the commander.[37] The excuse of the Pōlegār was considered unsatisfactory, and therefore, Bannerman marched with his army against Pāñchālamkuṛichi. He was reinforced by troops from Kōilpaṭṭi and Kayattār, and on 5th September, the fort of Pāñchālamkuṛichi was attacked. This sudden move came as an unexpected blow for Kaṭṭabomman, for he was not prepared to meet the situation. The fort itself was in need of repair, and many of his armed men were away at the time. Bannerman cut off the communications to the fort and demanded an unconditional surrender. But the garrison refused to submit.[38] Bannerman reconnoitred the fort and discovered its vulnerable points. Soon action was begun, and the English guns went into operation. The garrison, however, rose equal to the occasion, and when they retaliated by firing on the advancing troops, the invaders were struck with consternation. Meanwhile, another division of the Company's force rushed and it succeeded in blowing open the gate of the fort. The invaders met with a stubborn resistance at the hands of the garrison under the leadership of Veḷḷayyan, and when he was killed in the midst of his heroic fight, his place was taken by Ūmattūrai, the faithful brother of Kaṭṭabomman. Under his able leadership the rebels repulsed the English onslaughts and inflicted heavy loss on the invaders.[39] Bannerman expected to receive fresh reinforcements from Pāḷayamkōṭṭai, and therefore, he decided to renew the attack later. When the troops arrived the next day it was too late for commencing the attack before sunset. Meanwhile, the soldiers inside the fort felt their position precarious and fled in the

36. *Military Cons.*, vol. 253, pp. 3246-8 and pp. 3250-55, 11 June 1799.
37. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 98 A, p. 2706, 2 September 1799.
38. *Ibid.*, vol. 98, pp. 2896-2900, 22 November 1799.
39. *Military Consultations*, vol. 258, p. 6186, 24 September 1799; and *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 98 A, pp. 2706-11, 5 September 1799.

northerly direction.[40] The besiegers promptly pursued them and at Kōḷārpaṭṭi a severe clash occurred. Many of the Pōlegār's soldiers fell and the British succeeded in capturing some of the leaders, among whom was Thānāpathi Pillai, the friend and adviser of Kaṭṭabomman. Kaṭṭabomman and other chief rebels managed to escape.[41]

Bannerman now turned against the other Pōlegārs who had allied themselves with Kaṭṭabomman. On September 9, he occupied Nāgalāpuram and succeeded in capturing Soundara Pāṇḍya Nāick, the brother of the Pōlegār of Nāgalāpuram and the commander of the army. Before long, the other allies of Kaṭṭabomman, including the Pōlegārs of Yellayarumpunnai, Kaḍalakuḍi, Kuḷathūr and Kōḷārpaṭṭi surrendered.[42] Bannerman continued his victorious march through Koilpatti and forced certain other rebellious Pōlegārs to surrender.[43] In order to strike terror into the minds of the rebels the ring-leaders were publicly subjeted to capital punishment. Soundara Pāṇḍya Nāyak was executed at Gopalapuram, while Thānāpathi Pillai was beheaded at Nāgalāpuram. Thānāpathi Pillai's corpse was paraded through the streets of Pāñchālamkuṛichi and his head was exhibited on a pike fixed on a bastion of the fort.[44]

Kāṭṭabomman's end:

Escaping from Kōḷārpaṭṭi, Kaṭṭabomman seems to have wandered from place to place desperately until at last he found refuge in the forest of Kalpōre. However, his presence there was detected by the sepoys of Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍaimān, the Rāja of Pudukkōṭṭai.[45] It is popularly believed that Toṇḍaimān at first offered protection to Kaṭṭabomman and that later he betrayed him into the hands of the British. Though these details are not confirmed by dependable sources of information, undoubtedly it was Toṇḍaimān who handed over the rebel Pōlegār to the British.

Naturally Bannerman was jubilant, and on 16th October, he brought the rebel chieftain directly to Kayattār, where, by previous arrangement an assembly of all the Pōlegārs had been summoned. At the assembly Bannerman announced the charges against Kaṭṭabomman in a formal manner. His refusal to pay the kist to the Company, his failure to respond to the summons of the Collector, and finally his embarkation on a war with Śivagiri as well as with the Company were

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 2718 and 2777, 8 November 1799.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 2724.
42. *Military Consultations*, vol. 296, p. 2518, 18 April 1799, and *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 98 A, pp. 2714-38, 8 November 1799.
43. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 98 B, pp. 2765-70, 8 November 1799.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 2740-48, p. 2752 and p. 2754, 8 November 1799.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 2757 and pp. 2794-5, 8 November 1799.

the principal charges levelled against him. Kaṭṭabomman admitted these charges, though the manner of the admission was notably contemptuous. Finally the commander announced that Kaṭṭabomman was condemned to death. Then he was removed to the pre-arranged spot near the old fort of Kayattār, and there he was hanged.[46] It is notable that Kaṭṭabomman met his end with courage and calmness. Bannerman himself has recorded that at the examination in the assembly Kaṭṭabomman displayed a remarkable nonchalance. During the course of the examination, frequently he looked with scorn at the Pōlegārs of Eṭṭiyapōre and Śivagiri who were hostile to him. When he was being led to be executed, too, he cast contemptuous looks on the Pōlegārs who were standing on either side of his way. He expressed only an anxiety regarding his brother Ūmatturai, and finally when he reached the tree at which he was to be hanged, he indicated his regret in having left his fort in the defence of which he could have met a nobler death.[47]

It is the spectacular scene of his execution and his studied nonchalance which have cast a halo of heroism around him. Popular imagination was fired by the dramatic end of the undaunted chieftain ; no wonder, epics and ballads appeared about Kaṭṭabomman and his exploits. Now, the question is whether the recent attempts to make a patriotic hero of Kaṭṭabomman is warranted by the known facts. That he was courageous and shrewd, and that he had a burning desire to expel the Company from the new position which they had acquired can all be readily admitted. That he organised a league of brave Pōlegārs and above all that he put himself into communication with Malabār and Mysore testify to his ingenuity. If he had succeeded in organising the alliances at the proper time and in an effective manner, perhaps there was a chance of his realizing his aim. And if success attended his efforts, history would have accorded to him a lofty place as one of the great heroes who fought for the freedom of the country. But nothing succeeds like success, and since he failed, he is not so well-known as he would otherwise have been. On the other hand it is important to remember that his resources, political or military, were hardly adequate for the mighty struggle. Nor did he possess an organising capacity of a high order. If he had planned a sound scheme of alliances soon after he had assumed the Pōlegārship, success might have been within his reach, particularly because then the British position was distinctly weaker than in 1799. But history has no place for 'ifs'.

However, it is one thing to admit that he was anxious to expel the British. and it is another to say that he was imbued by a patriotic

46. *Ibid.*, vol. 98 B, pp. 2879-82, 8 November 1799.

47. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 98 B, pp. 2883-4, 8 November 1799. (Bannerman's Letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.)

desire to save his country from foreign domination. There is hardly any basis for such a facile view. It is true that he and his brother felt that the British intruders had no right to demand tributes; but neither the Nawāb of Ārcot nor the Nāyaks and the Pōlegārs had a better right to do so. Moreover, Kaṭṭabomman had never shown a concern for the welfare and happiness of the people of his Pāḷayam. He plundered the citizens of Pāñchālamkuṛichi as well as those of the neighbouring regions.[48] Cruel devices were adopted by him in order to squeeze money from the people. His moral character, too, was of a low order. There is little justification for disbelieving the findings of both Jackson and Lushington regarding Kaṭṭabomman's licentiousness and his incapacity to act independently of his wicked advisers.[49]

It may be argued that in the context in which he was placed, he had no other alternative than to plunder the neighbours. Several great heroes who have fought for the independence of their country have had to resort to similar ways. A Śivāji or Haidar Āli could not have reached the high position they attained if they conformed to a strict code of morality. But, apart from the means employed, Kaṭṭabomman lacked the vision and capacity to achieve his ends. The truth is, as shown earlier, the dramatic execution and the nonchalance he displayed in facing it, have primarily roused the popular tendency to exalt him. While his personal courage, sagacity and skill in the art of dissimulation are admirable, on the whole, he appears to have been just a typical Pōlegār of the times. To read patriotic ideas into his actions is hardly warranted by the known facts.

48. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 204, p. 4842, 18 June 1798.
49. *Ibid.*, vol. 204, p. 4833, and vol. 225, p. 3876.

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DHURNA AND BRAHMANICAL IMMUNITIES IN BENGAL UNDER EARLY BRITISH RULE

Dr. R. C. Mitra

The assumption of the responsibility for the administration of criminal justice by the East Indian Company was not accompanied with any radical change. It did not form the prelude to the superimposition of an alien code and an unfamiliar system of social ethics on an arrested native development. Till the acceptance of the Indian Penal Code in 1860, Muhammadan law formed the broad base on which rested the edifice of criminal justice though it admitted of various modifications by successive Regulations. The persistence among the Hindus of certain offences of illegal constraint with an odour of pseudo-religious sanctity about them presented a baffling problem to the early Anglo-Indian administrators. The Muslim rulers who had long superseded the Hindu criminal code in their own dominions had nevertheless extended a grudging indulgence to these extra-legal practices on grounds of caste or local sanction. The survival of these offences for several decades of the Company's rule in India and the stream of Regulations to wrestle with these anomalies only attest the sturdy hold which such practices had obtained on the mind of the people.

A case in point is presented by the widely prevalent practice of Dhurna of which the deeper emotional roots may probably be traced to masochistic urges. Hindu sentiment had long invested it with a halo of moral grandeur. In its accepted form it connoted a method of illegal duress by an aggrieved individual for the extortion of a donation or recovery of debts or of titles to land or property without recourse to judicial process. It was a species of private redress by real or pretended moral pressure. The demandant posted himself at the door of the party in a manner so as to prevent ingress or egress with the avowed intention of starving himself to death or of self-immolation by swallowing poison or by some weapons unless satisfaction was rendered to his cause. If the demandant was a Brahmin, the veneration for his caste rendered the device more formidable by invoking a graver odium on the antagonist. Under the circumstances, social convention made it incumbent on the besieged party to similarly abstain from food till

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settlement was reached and the embargo removed. Moral pressure may, in limited circumstances, be exercised with the silent acquiescence of the community to redress the balance of law in favour of the strong. But the practice could so easily lend itself to abuse that it often degenerated into an odious form of duress. As this form of constraint was exclusively an offence against Hindu law, the Mahommedan rulers were chary of taking cognisance of it and left it to the interpretation of the Pundits according to the injunctions of the Shuster. In Benares, which was ceded to the Company in 1775, the English were loath to interfere with the procedure in the province till 1820. But the objectionable features of the practice were effectively interdicted by a Proclamation issued in the province on 22nd, December 1792 and the relevant rule of proceeding was established by Secs. 11 and 12 Reg. XXI of 1795.[1] The magistrate was authorised to issue warrant for the apprehension of Brahmins accused of committing the offence of Dhurna. If on preliminary evidence a *prima facie* case could be made out against him, the accused was to be committed to trial by the Court of Circuit in accordance with the Bebastha or exposition of Hindu law by the Pundit. On proof of guilt the wrong-doer was to be expelled from the province of Benares and to forfeit all rights and claims in fulfilment of which the misdemeanour had been committed. But the Regulations betray distrust of the pettifogging technicalities in which the Bebastha was likely to be entangled. So Sec. 12 provides that even if the offence escaped the clutches of the Hindu canonical law relating to Dhurna, it was not to lead to immediate acquittal. If there were reasons to conclude that some form of illegal duress in the commonly accepted sense of the term had been used, the offender was to be bound down by a Mochulka or engagement that in the event of the recurrence of any offence tantamount to Dhurna, he would be liable to the full penalty of Dhurna proper *viz.*, banishment from the province of Benares and loss of rights or claim to the issue. The scope of the above Regulation was subsequently extended to all persons, Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins by Sec. 6 Reg. VIII of 1799 which also enjoined upon the Pundits a liberal interpretation of the term, Dhurna, without narrowing it down to specific definitions of Dherm, Bebhar, Chullona, or Achrit (custom and usage). The above rules were extended to Bengal, Behar and Orissa by Reg. V, 1797 and to the Ceded Provinces by Reg. III, 1804. A prohibitory proclamation to this effect was issued in every thana. A significant change in the mode of trial was effected and an uniformity of procedure was established by Sec. 8, Reg. VII of 1820 which included this offence in the purview of Mahommedan law under the head of Zulm. In consequence, the Futwas of the Moslem law officer replaced the dispensation of the Pundit in all places. It prescribed at fine of Rs. 1,000/-.

1. Harrington, *Analysis of the Laws and Regulations*.

or confinement upto one year in lieu of the above. This could be supplemented in instances attended with serious aggravation, with further confinement in civil jail up to a period of one year, subject to reference to the Nizamat Adalat. Besides, the Magistrates were authorised to dispose of lighter forms of infraction by a fine not exceeding Rs. 200 and civil jail for a term of six months. By way of illustration of the niceties involved in the interpretation of the Regulations it may be noted that when a person placed himself at a distance of a hundred paces from the grocer's shop and lived exclusively on Sherbat for 16 days, the Nizamat Adalat held that the circumstances did not constitute the offence of sitting Dhurna[2].

A sanguinary variation of the practice obtained in the province of Benares where the profound reverence shown by Hindus to Brahmins was frequently perverted by the latter to a defiance of the laws or the executive orders of the government. This took the form of the threat of suicide by ripping open a part of the body or by swallowing poison, or by the threat of heinous sacrilege of murdering his own female relatives by the aggrieved Brahmin. Still more desperate was the device of the Koorh in order to thwart arrest or molestation chiefly by revenue or judicial officers. At the approach of the officers for serving out the detested process, the Brahmins occasionally erected in a circular enclosure a funeral pyre on which they placed an old woman or some female relative whom they threatened to kill by setting fire to the pile of wood or similar inflammable materials. Sometimes they sought the same purpose by brandishing their swords before their women or children who were expressly brought out and exposed to horrified public view. Cases are known where these usually hollow threats were put to grim execution. The victim sometimes voluntarily submitted to this species of self-immolation as a means of righteous defence of injured dignity or in the fond delusion of being able to become the ghostly tormentor of the person whose acts had occasioned her sacrifice. Elaborate measures were provided in Sec. 2 to 10, Reg. XXI. 1795 for preventing the erection of a Koorh or the threat or commission of any violence under speudo-religious pretences. On receipt of an attested information of preparations of this character in progress, the Magistrate was required to serve out a notice in vernacular by a friend or relative of the offending Brahmin, or in default by a Hindu peon urging immediate abandonment of the project. Instead of any threat of prosecution the notice was to hold out positive and encouraging assurance of an enquiry into the alleged grievances by the Magistrate in person following compliance with his order. The coercive process of law was to operate only on the violation of the order. In that case a warrant specifying the contumacy was to be served out by a Mahommedan peon. The service of a Hindu peon was forbidden obviously because he might have scruples against defying the

2. Beaufort, *Digest of Criminal Law* (1846), pp. 587-41, 641-43.

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personal sanctity of a Brahmin. The Brahmin was then committed to trial by the Court of Circuit which was to proceed against him according to Reg. IX of 1793 and Reg. XVI of 1795, as the Muhammadan law stopped short of cases of this nature. The principal offender in respect of constructing a Koorh or making preparation to slay women or children was to be sentenced to a fine equal to his annual income. For the accomplices in this crime the fine was fixed at one-fourth of the annual income. The Brahmin was to remain in jail until he liquidated his fine or provided adequate security, and on release he was to further offer to the court a Fiulzaminee or security from persons of credit against repetition of similar offence. . In case of the accused absconding or resisting the warrant, his lands, held under whatever denomination, were liable to be attached and the revenue thereof was to be paid to the party in resentment to whom the misdemeanour had been attempetd, till the day of his surrender to the arms of law. The Regulations, however, recognise a distinction between homicide caused by the erection of a Koorh and the slaying of women and children under analogous circumstances, but by other means, *e.g.* the sword. The Brahmins responsible for occasioning death by construction of a Koorh as well as his accomplices were to be tried on a charge of Kutl-amd or pre-meditated murder according to Mahommedan law. But the sentence was to be delivered independently of the opinion of the law officers, subject only to reference to theNizamat Adalat, as in all cases of capital punishment. Brahmins wounding women and children by way of protest against actions of government officials or individuals were rendered liable to transportation. But the slaying of women or children under similar provocation subjected the offender to grave posthumous penalties besides capital punishment. Under orders of Governor-General in Council of 17 June, 1789 the family of the condemned person was to be banished from Benares and the Company's territories while his landed estates were to be forfeited to the Government. The Nizamat Adalat had the final authority of rigorous enforcement of the order of banishment and the mitigation or nullification of the order relating to the forfeiture of the lands after close consideration of the age, sex and number of members of the family of the Brahmin. Forfeiture of lands even after confirmation of the decree by the Nizamat Adalat required Government approval about the manner and measure of disposal of the same. The moderation of the Government was evinced by the rule that the decree of confiscation was never to be executed unless the whole of the family was banished. Any limitation with regard to the members of the family would preclude confiscation. The calculated rigours of the law deserve special attention because Brahmins guilty of simple murder within the province of Benares without the aggravating circumstances mentioned above, enjoyed immunity from death sentence till 1817 (Sec. 15 Reg. XVII). The execution of a Brahmin was however to take place, even after 1817, outside the sacred limits of the city of Benares.

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It may be observed in this connection that the practice of Dhurna is an ancient legacy of the primitive Hindu system and obtained wide currency. Elphinstone in his highly instructive "Report on the Territories conquered from the Paishwas" refers to the system of Tukazza or dunning. Its practice admitted of wide variation from manifestly violent and obnoxious restraint to simply importunate expostulation. The plaintiff seated himself fasting at the door of the defendant, occasionally with a slab of stone upon his head, and invoked the wrath of the gods and the execration of his neighbours upon the iniquity that was being done to him. It was a time-honoured contrivance of mobilising public opinion to wrest justice in cases where courts were deemed inadequate or unavailing. In Note J of the original draft of the Indian Penal Code, Dhurna is equated with Traga. Under this practice, an injured party used to hire the services of a man of the religious order who extorted redress for the aggrieved under the menace of otherwise killing himself or some others members of his party and thereby laying the indelible blood-guilt on the conscience of the person whose action had caused it.[3] John Stuart Mill in his Memorandum on the Improvements in the Administration of India during the last thirty years (1858), laid it to the credit of the Company that it had suppressed this practice by restrictive laws and sound administration of justice. But the spirit of this practice dies a hard death. Moral duress as an instrument of extra-legal justice survives in Protean forms, even though opinion must be divided on its intrinsic value. It is the bow of Ulysses which no weaker hands could bend. Its use by Mahatma Gandhi and its abuse for trivial purposes by disgruntled agitators present a caustic commentary on a much-vexed issue in recent times.

3. Sir George Clans Rankin, *Background to Indian Law*, pp. 213-15.

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A NOTE ON LAKHIRAJ LANDS

Shri Saugata Mukherji

The word lakhiraj is derived from an Arabic source, as indicated by authorities on revenue technicalities, being composed of two words, la which means 'no' and khirāj which stands for revenue or land-tax. Such grants were made in the Mughal period as rewards or payments for some services done. We may, however, reasonably infer that payment of this sort was quite prevalent in medieval India, as we come across so many instances of payment by land or assignments of land in lieu of cash salaries. Originally, the emperor or any other independent ruler made grants of lakhiraj land for services rendered to the community or to the state. These were known as badshahi grants. These were either cases of remission of revenue over a particular area of land already held by the grantee or new grants of land to a particular person or institution to be held free of tax.

Waste lands were also granted for reclamation and cultivation with the revenue wholly or partially remitted. Subsequently however, lesser authorities began granting lakhiraj and other charitable endowments which came to be known as hukumi or non-badshahi grants. In the days of declining authority and growing abuse of the office of the Kanungo, even petty officers with no authority indulged in making similar grants. Presumably, it was a convenient form of payment, (provided the village community sanctioned it) when the treasury was not over-full and where the ratio between the available supply of cultivable land and that of man-power was always traditionally in favour of the former.

It is curious to note that in many places, specially in Northern Bengal, lakhiraj tenures were loosely called jagirs. It was in fact this 'confusion' in terms that interested me originally because it could not be accidental. It is clear that grants of lakhiraj, large or small, were made on the same basic principle as assignments like jagirs with perhaps one important difference that jagirs were not hereditary possessions—indeed not possessions at all—but assignments of land held during the lifetime of an officer, while lakhiraj and other such grants—whatever they might have been originally—subsequently became hereditary possessions.[1] Such proprietors, specially the larger ones, had a scope to expand into landholders on somewhat similar lines as the zamindars became proprietors. The real similarity of the grants of lakhiraj with the

1. Baden Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, vol. I, p. 528.

assignments of jagir becomes clear with the briefest examination of the nature of lakhiraj grants, starting from the possessions of the higher officials and descending to the base of the pyramidal structure formed by the ordinary mass of peasants and artisans and others of their class.

A point which should be cleared at the outset is: what does 'rent-free' land really mean? We find the British writers and revenue officials casually substituting the words 'rent-free' and 'revenue-free' for each other. It is, however, now agreed on all sides that very few tracts of land were indeed rent-free in Bengal or any other part of India in the medieval period. These lands were possessed in return for services rendered to the grantor *i.e.*, the overlord, who never failed to realise such services or 'presents' from the grantee—even though he might forego his share of the produce of that particular tract of land.[2] This becomes rent in a very real sense when we come to the lowest 'rung' of the ladder. This had long gone unnoticed but has been recently brought to light by several writers and mention should be made of a particular work in this field which clarifies the issue considerably.[3] Thus lakhiraj or revenue-free tracts of land were granted to zamindars who were then agents of collection of revenue, either as remuneration for their work or as reward for some special services to jagirdars for the maintenance of additional troops; to religious institutions and holy communities, and lastly to peasants, artisans and other menial servants and petty office-assistants. Thus, what can be loosely called 'feudal service' was expected in return for these grants. The nature of the service varied according to the position occupied by a person in the hierarchy, but the services which were imposed on peasants, workers, etc. were nothing else than the extraction of labour-rent.

The zamindars who were of old agents of collection of revenue were given, as part of their emoluments, nankar lands to be held revenue-free. The zamindar very naturally absorbed them gradually into this own property.[4] Apart from this, the zamindars and other local influential men were granted lakhiraj to induce them to take an interest in cultivation. In the days of declining authority, these men who had some sort of a real estate to begin with soon promoted themselves into the class of proprietors and it might be imagined that men of a lesser origin, the 'upstarts', were more energetic in this direction than the ancient nobles. The jagirdars also received over and above their personal jagirs other tracts of revenue-free land solely for the maintenance of troops. Several zamindars also held lakhiraj lands for the main-

2. T. Roychoudhuri, *Bengal Under Akbar & Jehangir*, p. 88.

3. *Burdwan District Records* (New Series), vol. II, Introduction by R. Guha, sec. II.

4. Harington, *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations*, vol. III, p. 320. Quoted by Baden Powell.

tenance of troops and as cost of supplying boats to the Mughal rulers. The existence of ' nowara ' and 'hissazut' lands attached to the Chandradwip Zamindari of Barisal in the days of the ' Mag ' and ' Firinghee ' incursions, the ' nawabad ' lands of Chittagong and the Ghatwali lands in the western border districts of Bengal certifies to this. About Midnapur, O'Malley quoting J. Grant says : " This district was held by a tenure different to any other known in the country...corresponded with the ancient military fiefs of Europe, in samuch as certain lands were held lakhiraj.....solely appropriated for the maintenance of troops ; " and again, " nearly two-thirds (of the Jagirs in the district) were assigned over for the maintenance of some thousands of barkandazes, matchlockmen or native Hindustani militia."[5] Another community that benefited by lakhiraj grants to a great extent consisted of religious sects, temples and pious men who received grants either from the state such as aima, madad-i-maash, etc. which were placed under the supervision of the provincial sadar. Besides, the zamindars made similar grants like Brahmottar, Debattar, Mahatran, etc. to the Hindus and Piran, Chiraghi, Khairati, etc. to the Muslims. Grants were made to occupational groups like carpenters, ferrymen, milkmen, cobblers, weavers, agradanis and such others. Before the rise of the zamindari system, grants of waste land were made to communal services to men for helping administration and village defence and to artisans, local manufacturers etc. In the Midnapur District Gazeteer we find that Chakran lands were granted to people of such diverse callings as simanadar, paik, gomashta, kumhar, napit, mali, dobi, astapahari (watchman), bearers and rasughirs (carriers of amin's chain of assessment). Thus, on a closer examination, it appears that lakhirajdars of this type rendered more services to the government than to the community and in such cases, labour-rent of this type coincides with the tax payable to the state.[6] With the trasnformation of zamindars into proprietors, communal lands became absorbed into private lands, and as has been shown by a writer on the subject, rent-free lands were retained on condition of personal service to the zamindar. As the very name implies, these men, holding chakran lands, nucleated round the zamindar and rendered him personal service either in the form of labour or with their handiworks even though the zamindar was not entitled to produce rent in such cases. This clearly brings out to what extent ' non-economic compulsion ' could be enforced by the nominal owner (or in this case overlord) of the soil in feudal India. It is clear from contemporary documents that some of the petty office-assistants and menials had to carry out in reality the most essential duties of the zamindar like looking after the law and order, village defence etc.[7]

5. *Midnapur District Gazetteer*, Historical Introduction by O'Malley " Land Revenue Administration.

6. K. Marx, *Capital*, vol. III on ' Labour-Rent '.

7. Letter of the Collector of Birbhum, December 1787. Quoted in Burdwan Records (Introduction).

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In the period between the grant of the Diwani and the Permanent Settlement, the Company became increasingly anxious about the so-called alienation of land and opposed all fresh grants of lakhiraj, even the perforce liberal grants of 'baze-zamin' in Burdwan district with a view to counteracting the effects of the famine of 1770 when the shortage of man-power in relation to land became most acute. Cornwallis however started the policy of outright resumption of alienated lands and this process continued, sometimes in full force, sometimes haltingly, till 1859. The attempt to raise the total amount of revenue receipts to the detriment of the broader agricultural and other interests of the country was, to say the least, unimaginative like so many other land-revenue policies of the company. The Company mainly directed its attack against the petty holdings invalid lakhiraj holdings below one hundred bighas—rather than those bigger than it. The Baze-Zamin Regulations of 1788, the Regulation XIX and XXXVII of 1793 and the regulations about the resumption of invalid lakhiraj grants were the direct result of this attitude. The policy of invalidating the hukumi grants rather than the badshahi ones also hit the class of direct producers hard, those who had benefited by such grants as the 'baze-zamin' grants of the Raja of Burdwan. It is clear that the government leant in favour of the zamindars regarding the resumption of 'alienated' lands from the ryots. It is thus amusing to read the ravings of a representative of the zamindari interests, a self-styled 'lover of justice', accusing the government in an article of having sided with the ryots in Sec. 28 of Act X of 1859.[8] The only thing that rings true in the whole article is that the existence of such numerous lakhiraj tenures was incompatible with the Company's modern revenue organisation, these being the relics of an old economy. This is evident from the fact that the decadent class of 'old' Zamindars and religious communities clung to these possessions with the despair of dying men. The appeals of an impoverished descendant of the great 'Chandradwip' Zamindars of Barisal and the laments and prayers of a community of Brahmins in the same district might have been very pathetic, yet one cannot but sympathise with the Company's resumption of all these lands in 1800.[9] Such blows could not be avoided on the decaying 'old order' and on the remnants of a village economy.

In Assam, the question of lakhiraj tenures remained a vexed question till the 1880's. Here, it was aggravated by the existence of nisf-khiraj or half-free tenures which were originally revenue-free. But subsequently, some levies were made by local chiefs on parts of these lands. From contemporary records of administration, we gather that theoretically all such holdings were taken to have lapsed after the British conquest. Nevertheless, the actual existence of such lands caused the

8. "The Permanent Settlement Imperilled" by a 'Lover of Justice' 1859.
9. T. Roychoudhuri, "Some Old Documents of Barisal", *IHQ*, 1948.

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government to set up an *ad hoc* commission of enquiry with instructions to recommend the resumption of all ' alienated ' lands (pending the lakhiraj enquiry) but to put into effect mild terms on these lands. The officials engaged, however, found it an impossible task and had to retain numerous lakhiraj grants as valid. After a protracted correspondence, continued with intervals till 1879, the government had to condone their unauthorised actions and to accept both lakhiraj and nisf-khiraj holdings. The nisf-kirajdars further held the waste lands as revenue-free. Such holdings, situated mostly in Kamrup, were in nature religious grants by the native Ahom rulers and dedicated to temples. Often, these were large tracts of lands, cultivated by sub-tenants who paid only the government rates as revenue but were bound to do service or pay in kind to their overlords (temples) in addition.[10] It is possible that this artificial cotinuation of labour-rent or some sort of rent in kind was a stumbling block in the process of ' monetising ' rent and consequently the Company's policy of modernising and maximising revenue. It also possibly affected the growth of a land market which had by then come into existence; but to what extent it is difficult to ascertain at the present state of information. Perhaps, an awareness of the peculiar situation led the government to make these lands compact and isolate them from the other revenue-paying territories where money-rent obtained, as Mr. Ward's note on this subject indicates.[11]

It is true that the introduction of money-rent by the British administrators did not signify any fundamental change in the nature of rent. But it was surely an indication of the coming social changes to which such relics of medieval economy could not be reconciled. Thus, Lakhiraj grants stood as symbol of ' feudal ' service, military, civil or labour as the case might be. This survival of lakhiraj also signified the survival of an old set of relationships, little pockets of resistance against a general economic transformation. The Company's repeated attempts to resume all ' alienated ' lands since the Diwani thus seem to acquire a special meaning. As has been very aptly remarked, these attempts 'stand for the efforts of the mercantile representatives of a comparatively superior economy to transform a backward community by converting a large fund of labour-rent into money-rent in a way suited to the requirements of its financial transactions. The failure of this effort merely proves how the natural economy of Bengal was to die hard.'[12] It was rather the unnatural continuation of a medieval feature that encouraged the reproduction of the old forces of production and for a long time thwarted the completion of a new economic process.

10. *Assam Administrative Reports*, 1882-8.
11. Mr. Ward's note on the Kamrup Lakhiraj enquiry.
12. *Burdwan District Records*, (New Series), Introduction by R. Guha, sec. II.

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TWO MUGHAL FARMANS RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF SADAR KANUNGOS IN BIHAR

Dr. H. R. Ghosal

In the record room of Muzaffarpur Collectorate there is a big bundle of sanads, parwanas and farmans dealing generally with the grant of *lakhiraj*[1] lands to families, individuals and religious institutions, and, in a few instances, with certain other matters. Five such documents relate to the conferment of the office of Sadar Kanungo in Bihar on some persons belonging to a particular Hindu family. Two of these are farmans—one from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, granted in the thirteenth year of his reign, and the other from the Emperor Shah Alam II, issued in the twenty-fifth year of his accession. The remaining three are parwanas issued under the seals of Abul Hosain, Royal Dewan of Bihar, Raja Shitab Roy Bahadur, 'Victorious in Battle,' and John Shore, President of the Revenue Committee, then employed on settlement duty in Bihar. The parwana of Abul Hosain has the words: 'in the eighth year of the reign'[2] at the end; those of Shitab Roy and John Shore bear the dates: 'in the eleventh year of the reign' (Shah Alam II's reign), and '9th January, 1784' respectively. The parwanas of Shitab Roy and Shore are not so important, because they merely echo the letter and spirit of the farmans in concise language. The really important document is the farman of Aurangzeb, not simply because the duties and emoluments of the office of Kanungo are expressly stated in the document, but the reason that it contains some expressions which throw considerable light on the nature of Mughal government, on the paternal theory of the State, and on a few other points of interests. The farman of Shah Alam confirms the descendants of the persons mentioned in the previous farman in the office of Sadar Kanungo, and is slightly differently worded.

The five documents referred to above were submitted by Roy Purseed (Prasidh) Ram and Roy Selwant Singh, son of Roy Balwant Singh, Sadar Kanungos of Bihar, to Mr. R. Graham, Acting Collector of

1. Revenue free.

2. Probably in the eighth year of Aurangzeb's reign; for we find that one Abul Hasan held the office of Secretary to the Governor of Orissa and certain other appointments (in Bengal or Bihar) between 1655 and 1670.

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Tirhut, along with a petition claiming the amount of *russoom*[3] due from Sarkar Tirhut for a number of years until 1200 Fusli (when the office of Sadar Kanungo was abolished), and were forwarded by the Acting Collector to the Revenue Board, Calcutta, with his letter of the 18th June, 1800. True English translations made by Mr. Graham, which accompanied his letter, are as follows :

No. 1

In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate—

(Signature of the King).
Firman of Abool Zuffer Mahomed
Moheeuddeen Alumgeer Badshah
Gazee Aurangzebe Bahadur
(In Tughra Character)

Royal Seal

At this time the sublime and propitious mandate has obtained the Honour of promulgation that we have bestowed, *pursuant to ancient custom*[4], with the exemption of Royal presents, theo ffice of Canoongoe of the whole of the Province of Behar, together with its sircars as particuarized on the back, on Dhurneedhur, Jugut Ram and Roop Ram, sons of Dhunraj and Laul Chund, heirs of Kerodhur. Let them perform the duties of that office as it becomes and behoves them, and not deviate in the least particle from the observance and practice of equity and justice, and keeping a watchful eye over their agents in the different sircars and mehauls of the said province, *let them transmit yearly as is usual to the exalted Register office genealogical lists of families, with accounts of the former* and *present state of the augmentations* and *decrease of population*, and having exerted themselves to the utmost as is incumbent on them, for the welfare of the Inhabitants and *encouragement of the lower ranks of the people, let them not attempt a single oppressive measure against them*, and *having satisfied and pleased the labouring farmers* by the mildness of their conduct let them not be overbearing or severe towards them ; and let them not expect or receive more than eight annas in the Hundred Rupees, exclusive of *Dustoor*[5] and *Nankar*[6] admitted by ancient privilege and let them consider the appointment and removal of their subordinate officers as vested entirely on themselves.

It is the duty of the Descendants of the illustrious of noble family, the Ministers of great respectability, the grandees of distinguished merit, the Lords of Dignity, the officers of extensive property, the

3. Rights or dues (customary payments).
4. The italics are ours.
5. Perquisite.
6. Rent-free land (The kanungos were generally given rent-free lands in addition to the customary remuneration which they received).

Accountants of Dewanny affairs, the trustworthy in state matters, the Jagheerdars and Huzoories both now and hereafter and to all eternity that having endeavoured their utmost in attention and obedience to this sacred edict, and considered the above persons with their descendants from generation to generation, from heir to heir, for ever and in perpetuity, fixed and appointed to the office of Canongoe of the whole said province together with its sircars, they look upon them as preserved and shielded from all injury of dismission and charge and never depart from their weighty opinion, advice or correct council which shall at all times tend towards the increase of our Dignity and the *improvement of the condition of the peasantry*, and that they acknowledge the papers appertaining to that office as valid under the signature of the above persons, and of the other Canongoes that they deliver over to them whatever papers may concern them as is customary. Considering this as positive and peremptory let them not require a fresh edict or order yearly, nor deviate or depart from the mandate of Royal Bounty.

Date the 19th of Jecaud[7] in the 12th and first year of our Reign.

On the back of the farman is given the form of a memorandum, stated to have been issued " under date, Saturday the first of Showal in the 18th year of the fortunate accession or 1080 Hijiree corresponding with the holy month of Assoor (Azure)[8] during the administration of the careful of Royal prosperity, the trusty of exalted empire, the support of ministers of distinguished rank, the cream of noblemen of Elevated situation, the supreme of the lords of the kingdom and state..... .....the fortunate head of affairs of sovereignty Jafar Khaun,[9] and in the secretaryship of the humblest of the slaves of the throne, the asylum of the world, Khawjeh Enaetoolah." The gist of the farman also appears on the back, and the number of *mahals* in each of the eight sarkars of Bihar is mentioned, together with references to some letters written by some officers of the Government on the subject.

At the bottom on the back there are three seals : (*i*) of Jafar Khan bearing the date " 2nd of Mohurrum, 18th Jeloos ",[10] (*ii*) of Mooreedul Khalik Khan,[11] 18th Jeloos ; and (*iii*) of Mohan Doss, bearing the date " 1st of Mohurrum, 18th Jeloos."

7. Zilqad—name of an Arabic month.

8. Azure—Persian solar month corresponding to the Indian month of Paus (December—January).

9. Jafar Khan was Vizier of the empire during 1668-70.

10. Jalloos—accession.

11. Probably Qalich Khan, Sadr-us-Sadr.

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On the right and left side margins there are references to the despatch and arrival of copies of the farman at particular offices, with dates.

No. 2

The Royal signature
Firman of Aboo Mozuffer
Mohomed Jelaluddeen
Shah Alam Badshah Gazee
(In Tughra character)

Royal Seal.

At this happy time, the dignified and respectful Firman is issued that we have continued with the exeption of Peishcush, the office of Cannangoe of the whole of the Province of Bihar, together with its Sircars (which formerly was granted to the ancestors of Roy Bulwant Sing and Roy Purseed Ram, heirs of Kerodhur with a perquisite of 8 ans. in the hundred rupees for their support) to the above named persons according to custom. Let the above persons perform the duties of that office, as becomes and behoves them, and not deviate in the least particle from the observance and practice of equity and justice, ... and having exerted themselves to the utmost, as is incumbent on them for the welfare and colonization of the ryots, let them not attempt a single oppressive measure against them.

(Dated the 9th of Rajub in the 25th year of our Reign)

(On the back)

In the administration of the Repository of nobleness and generosity, the dignity of power and Dominion, the Elevation of the post of splendour and state, the exalted of the pleasure of Felicity and Grandeur, the support of sovereignty and command, the faithful of Majesty, the victorious ornament of the fields of Empire, the Joyful embellishment of the assemblies of delight, the inestimable mirror of truth and fidelity; .....the pillar of His Majesty the King powerful as Sylaymann,[12] the Minister of the Empire,..... .....the prince of the country, Abooul Munsoor Khann Safdar Jung Soojaud Dowlah Aheea Khan Asafud dowlah Bahadur, the Lion of Battles, the trustworthy beloved Commander of the Forces, and the Roostum of Hind.

Seal of Roy 19th Rajub 25th Jeloosy.	Seal of Khajah Khan Cadree 18th Rajub 25th Jeloosy	Seal of Asaf-uddowlah Nawab with most of the titles recapitulated 25 Rajub, 25th Jeloosy

12. Perhaps stands for Suleman the Magnificent and not for Solomon.

Some of the expressions used in farman I are very striking. It is to be noticed, in the first place, that the office of Kanungo was bestowed 'pursuant to ancient custom,' and that it continued in the same family 'from generation to generation, from heir to heir, for ever and in perpetuity.' Secondly the Kanungos were expected to be protected and shielded by the higher officers of Government, and were not to be dismissed from their station from which it is clear that they could be removed only by the appointing authority, that is, by the Emperor himself. What is more interesting to note is that they had to transmit yearly genealogical lists of families and accounts of the increase and decrease of population. That the keeping of statistics of population was a regular feature of the administration is evident from the words: 'as is usual.' The next point of interest in the document is the Mughal Government's attitude towards the lower ranks of the population. It is nothing surprising that Aurangzeb, who had during his viceroyalty of the Deccan evinced a genuine solicitude for the welfare of the peasantry, should stress this point in his farman. But the expression 'encouragement of the lower ranks of the people' is particularly worthy of notice. It appears that it was the policy of the State to keep the vast masses of the agricultural population contented, to win their good-will and support. And so the revenue officers were definitely instructed to be mild in their conduct towards them. The whole of the document breathes, as a matter of fact, the spirit of enlightened despotism. The words: 'colonization and encouragement of the Ryots' in farman 2 should not escape our notice; for it is clear from these that the Mughal Government had to deal with the problem of colonization, and that it was the duty of the revenue officers to provide for the settlement of ryots who were rendered homeless and compelled to migrate from one place to another. Such movements of population, it may be noted, generally took place during severe famines and political invasions.[13] Lastly, the farmans are important because they contain the names of the eight Sarkars,[14] and of the mahals included in each, in Subah Bihar.

13. Even during the early period of British rule such movements of population were not uncommon. See in this connection my paper, "The Famine of 1788-84 and the Company's Relief Measures" published in the *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1949.

14. The eight Sarkars were: Bihar—58 mahals; Hajipur—11 mahals; Tirhut—102 mahals; Saran—18 mahals; Champaran—8 mahals; Shahabad—12 mahals; Rohtas—7 hahals; Monghyr—40 mahals.

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SADASHIV RAO IN ORISSA—1798-1803

DR. BHABANI CHARAN RAY

RAJARAM PANDIT died in 1798. His son Sadashiv Rao had already acted as Naib Subahdar of Orissa. Thus he gathered administrative experience. Now the Raja of Nagpur sent Diwan Harivansa Ray with a sanad, a khelat and a string of pearl to invest him (Sadashiv Rao) with the viceroyalty of Orissa.[1]

He was quite friendly to the British like his father. Even though the British Residency at Balasore was abolished he on behalf of the Maratha Government was not prepared to put forth any claim on Barabati and the people within which was attached to British factory.[2]

He co-operated with the British in suppressing the questionable activities of some border Rajas. One of them was the Raja of Mayurbhanj. In 1795 one battalion belonging to the Company's army stationed at Midnapur mutinied. They refused to lay down their arms; they fired upon another battalion. Consequently the latter was obliged to dispose of them; some were killed; some taken prisoner; others fled. Some of them entered into the country of the Raja of Mayurbhanj. It was reported that 160 of the mutineers were maintained by the Raja; they received daily allowance of food from him. When the British asked him to deliver them to their hands, he did not listen to them. When Sadashiv Rao was requested by the British to take action against the Raja he at once wrote to the Raja to desist from giving any protection to the mutineers. He also ordered the faujdar of Balasore to make a full search after the rebellious sepoys and put them out of the limits of Mayurbhanj. Consequently the Raja ceased to indulge in those activities.[3]

Sadashiv Rao many times facilitated the march of British troops from Bengal to Madras. He assisted the march of one regiment under the command of Lt.-Col. Higgens passing from Bengal to Ganjam

1. *TPR, received,* No. 441, 2 September 1798; *Ibid.,* No. 443, 3 September 1798.
2. *Public Consultations,* No. 1, 10 August 1795, No. 1.
3. *TPR, received,* No. 431, 24 December 1795.

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through Orissa.[4] He also helped in crossing the rivers, supplied messengers and grains to the troops under the command of Col. Erskine.[5] When Captain Kirkpatrick proceeded from Bengal to Madras he instructed the Amils to provide bazar to his people.[6] He went to the extent of clearing some roads from the dangers of the tigers to facilitate the march of British troops.[7] Peter Spike, acting Governor-General-in-Council, Fort William, said that Sadashiv's " zeal is over-exemplary in carrying into execution the wishes of this Sirkar (British Government) with a view to improve system of union and harmony subsisting between us.[8]

The Maratha friendly attitude encouraged the British; they reorganised their postal system in Orissa in a better way than before. There was an increase of establishments from Calcutta to Jagannath. Additional Harkaras were appointed at Tappal stations.[9]

Sadashiv's friendly relation with the British did not stand in the way of his fighting for a just cause. He was ever prepared to protest against high-handed or unjust activities of the British Officers or Government if they went contrary to the legitimate interest of the Maratha Government or its people. When Divyasinha Deva II, the Raja of Khurda, died there was a contest for the occupation of the throne by two rivals; one was Mukunda Deva, son of Divyasinha Deva; the other was Shyam Sundar, second son of Birakishore Deva, hence the uncle of Mukunda Deva.[10]

During the lifetime of Divyasinha Deva, Shyam Sundar had resided at Cuttack. Soon after his death he fled to a zamindar in the Northern Sarkar. He could persuade a British Officer and could collect a body of men consisting of troops from the British battalion. He came as far as Chicacole. Then he proposed to proceed to Khurda to seize the throne from his rival. Sadashiv Rao vehemently protested against the British help to Shyam Sundar. The Bengal Government was repeatedly asked to take action so that the fugitive would receive no assistance to create disturbance in the Maratha country. Consequently Shyam Sundar's plan failed. Mukunda Deva had no trouble from his rival.[11]

4. *TPR, written*, No. 48, 1 February 1799.
5. *Ibid*, No. 225, 11 December 1795.
6. *TPR*, received, No. 119, 31 December 1798.
7. *TPR, written*, No. 10, 10 January 1797.
8. *TPR, written*, No. 48, 1 February 1799.
9. *Public Consultations*, No. 82, 28 July 1794.
10. *TPR, received*, No. 898, 6 September 1798.
11. *Ibid.*

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On another occasion Sadashiv's people with a quantity of treasure were proceeding to Murshidabad as they used to do previously. The British Officers stationed at Jaleswar suspected them without sufficient reason. They did not allow them to pass. They obtained an order from the Magistrate of Midnapur and detained them with the treasure. When Sadashiv Rao understood this he complained against the improper and unfriendly behaviour of the British Public officers. He demanded the release of the persons with the treasure. As a result, the British released them with the treasure.[12]

On third occasion he wrote strongly to the British Government to recover some treasure from a person to be handed over to Sri Ram Das, a Mahant of a Math at Puri. That Mahant appointed Brindaban Das to collect offerings made to the god Jagannath. Brindaban Das died there, but the money and property offered to the god Jagannath under his charge were left in possession of Keshu Potdar, an inhabitant of Calcutta. As he was not prepared to surrender them, Sadashiv Rao wrote to the British to direct the proper officers to recover the money and property offered to the god from Keshu Potdar and transmit them through Sadhu Charan Das Vishnu on the part of that Mahant to Purusottam Chhattar.[13]

On the fourth occasion Sadashiv Rao wrote to the British for the release of Ramanand Bhuyan. Ramanand Bhuyan was the zamindar of Jamukonda in Maratha territory. British vessels were driven by the stress of the weather into the Jamukonda river. Ramananda Bhuyan plundered them. The British Government protested against the wickedness of Ramanand Bhuyan before the Maratha Government. Maratha Government assured the British to take necessary action against Ramanand Bhuyan. Meanwhile Ramanand Bhuyan went to Gopi Ballavpur for the purpose of visiting Sri Govind Ji. He was seized there and carried to Midnapur by the British police.[14] Sadashiv Rao wrote to the British that the imprisonment of Ramanand Bhuyan by the British officer was improper, as such duty fell upon the Maratha Government. Moreover, the property plundered from the British vessels had already been recovered. In view of this the British should set him free. He repeatedly pointed out the British mistake and ultimately secured the release of Ramanand Bhuyan from the hands of the British.[15]

12. *Public Consultations*, No. 15, 31 August, 1795; *TPR. received*, No. 261, 30 July 1795; *TPR. written*, No. 152, 13 August 1795.

13. *TPR. received*, No. 153, 4 March 1794; *TPR. received*, No. 154, 4 March 1794.

14. *TPR. received*, No. 186, 7 May 1802.

15. *TPR. written*, No. 77, 6 September 1802; *T.P.R. received*, No. 11. 13 January 1803; *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations* No. 41, 29 December 1803. Letter dated 4 November 1803; *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, No. 42. 29 December 1803. Letter dated 17 November 1803.

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During his administration Sadashiv Rao many times complained against the oppression of the Zamindars in British territory over the rayats in Maratha territory. Particularly the zamindar of Kudai, a pargana in British territory, was often oppressing the rayats of Pataspur, a pargana in Maratha territory. He occasionally took bonds from them, asking them not to cultivate the lands to which they were accustomed from time immemorial. He asked his people to build an embankment in the environ of Kahnupur belonging to Pataspur contrary to the past custom. Sadashiv Rao vehemently objected to these oppressions and asked the British Government to take measures against the wickedness of the zamindars in British territory.[16]

Sadashiv Rao was particular to see that the revenue was collected punctually. The Raja of Khurda was vont to delay the payment of revenue to the Maratha Government. As a remedy to this he secured the services of an Amil from Nagpur to enforce the punctual payment of revenue.[17]

In the month of February 1798 Sadashiv Rao set out from Cuttack in order to pay respect to Raghuji Bhonsla. He delivered the charge of his office to his brother Nilakanth Rao.[18] It appears that after his return from Nagpur he continued to take charge of his office upto 1803. In 1803 Ekaji Shukdeo, perhaps same as Vyakoji Shukdeo, was acting as his deputy during his absence.[19] Balaji Kunhar was the commandant of the forces. By the time Orissa was occupied by the British, Sadashiv Rao had been absent and Ekaji Shukdeo had left the country.[20]

16. *TPR. received*, No. 202, 28 July 1802; *TPR. received*, No. 203, 28 July 1802.
17. *TPR. received*, No. 398, 6 September 1798.
18. *TPR. received*, No. 185, 24 April 1798.
19. *TPR. received*, No. 97, 18 May 1803; No. 99, 18 May 1803.
20. *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, No. 53, 21 June 1804, Enclo. 24 March 1804, M. S. Elphinstone.

1878

THE KOL RISING OF CHOTANAGPUR (1831-33)—ITS CAUSES

SHRI JAGDISH CHANDRA JHA

THE rising of the Kols in 1831-33 has been described in various ways by different writers. O'Malley[1] calls it the 'Kol Rebellion' in which the Mundas and the Oraons 'rose en masse'[2] and were joined by the Hos, the Cheros and the Kharwars. On the other hand, Bradley Birt[3] refers to it as 'the Kol Mutiny'. Moreover, Kalipada Mitra[4] has catalogued the events connected with the disturbances of the Kols from 1819 to 1839 under the title 'Insurrection of the Coles'. Mr. J. Reid also gives the same title to this explosion[5]. But in spite of this variety of titles, there is no grain of doubt that it was a 'formidable rising'[6] of the aborigines called ' 'the Kols' 'who became restive and reverted to their old practices of resistance and pillage'[7].

For a proper understanding of the factor which led to this serious challenge to authority, it is necessary to analyse the nature of the 'Adivasis' who took part in this great rising and their reactions to the establishment of regular authority. According to E. T. Dalton,[8] 'more than half of the people of Chotanagpur were known by the name of 'Kol' which included many tribes (e.g. the Mundas, the Oraons, Hos, Bhumij and others)'. They were simple but inflammable people and they belonged to a manly race. They were courageous, but intemperate and were not used to subordination and alien domination. As such they violently reacted to the advent of the British rule with the regulations of Bengal Code which had been unwisely imposed on this undeveloped and unwieldy tract. Moreover, since the introduction of

1. In the *Bengal District Gazetteer* (Singhbhum, Seraikela and Kharsawan), p. 85.
2. L. S. S. O'Malley *History, of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under British rule* (Calcutta, 1925), p. 689.
3. F. B. Bradley Birt, *Chotanagpur, a little known province of the Empire* (London, 1903), p. 92.
4. " Insurrection of the Koles in Chotanagpur," *BPP*, 1942, p. 72.
5. J. Reid, *Final Report on the Survey and settlement operations in the district of Ranchi*, 1902-1910 (Calcutta, 1912), p. 22.
6. P. C. Roy Choudhury, *Hazaribagh old Records*, 1761-1878 (Patna, 1957).
7. " The 'Kols' of Chotanagpur," *JASB*, vol. XXXV, pt. II, 1865.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

the police system by the British and the appointment of the first 'Political Agent to Government in South Bihar and the recently ceded districts adjacent to that province' in 1819, the outsiders had been pouring in Chotanagpur as police darogas, court amlas and 'abkari' farmers, who did not have the slightest knowledge of the language, customs and the sentiments of these people. Consequently they used tricks and fraudulent methods to exploit these simple aborigines. Soon the British rule became distasteful to them and the so-called civilizing influences of the foreigners enraged them. Thus there was smouldering discontent among the aborigines in the whole of Chotanagpur plateau against the infiltration of the foreigners. The consolidation of the British rule in this area 'had resulted not only in the political dependence and social degradation of a manly race as the children of the soils of Chotanagpur were, but had actually been threatening them with total economic ruin.'[9] Therefore the Kols decided to take revenge upon the foreigners at large and 'as the insurrection advanced, the people of the rude tribe of the Coles, who were the natives of the country, and formed the great mass of the population, rose up on the Hindoos, Mahomedans, and other foreigners, who were settled in their villages engaged in commercial, or agricultural pursuits, drove them almost universally from their homes and property, which were burnt or plundered and sacrificed numbers of those who fell into their hands, to their excited passions, of revenge and hatred."[10] This movement spread from the present district of Ranchi to Singhbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau.

While analysing the causes of this universal rising of the Coles[11] Wilkinson and Cuthbert, the Joint Commissioners of 1832, throw a flood of light on the state of lawlessness in this region. They say that the early petitions (Urzees) and reports about the disturbances did not state the reasons. But the following two statements[12] are revealing. The first is of Sooee Munda as narrated by Bahadoor Dubhasea and runs thus, "I gave a Tola of Gold to Luttie Cole of Roomang of Sonepore, in exchange for which he agreed to give me a pair of buffaloes during three years. I applied to him several times for them in vain, for which reason I carried off a pair of his buffaloes. For this I was considered a thief by Mohamad Ally, Naick of Roomang, who took from me the buffaloes, and tied and took me to his house. The next day he suspended me from a tree by a rope tied to my hair and subsequently cut me down, when by the fall one of my toes of my left foot

9. K. K. Datta, *Unrest against British rule in Bihar*, 1831-1859, p. 12.

10. *Vide* 'Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Anglo-Indian Empire. in The Bengal and Agra-Annual Guide and Gazetteer of 1841, vol. II, p. 85.

11. The letter of Wilkinson and Cuthbert of the 12 February, 1832.

12. *Ibid.*

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was broken. I was kept in the stocks five days suffering great torture, and only obtained my release on giving a bullock and buffaloe... (when the Porahat Raja was informed), in place of paying attention to my petition they fined me five Rupees." The second statement is of Bindru Manki as narrated by the same Dubhasea and is as follows :—" I borrowed a pair of old baffaloes from Birju Bania of the Sonepore pergunnah. This man came to my house accompanied by 60 men and took from me six cows, and calves and four buffaloes, seized both my brother Singrae and myself and took us to his house. We succeeded in effecting our escape, but my cattle were not released. I complained to Koomkera Singh, Raja of Bandgaon, of the Bania's treatment of us. He listened to me and gave me 85 men for my protection with whom I went to Surgaon, where not finding the Bania, we seized two men and a pair of bullocks which we took to the Raja. For this an inhabitant of Surgaon, named Singh, preferred a complaint against me at Sherghati. My brother Singrae and self and Bahadur Cole were seized by the Chuckerdurpoor Moonshee and Jamadar.....After remaining confined in the stocks for fifteen days, and suffering great pain, we escaped. When our flight was discovered the Moonshee and Jamadar carried off my two wives. They released the older who was pregnant, but the other who was young was detained, and ravished by the Moonshee and two of his Mussalman peons ; they also thrust a stick into her private parts. The Singh of Surgaon has besides taken away two of my sisters by force, who are still in his house.....when we told the Rajah our grievances we returned home. We four were subsequently sent for by Krishna Dewan, who told us that as we were Coles, we might do as we pleased, but be careful not to involve Rajah Achet Singh in my difficulties by our conduct. We returned home, invited all the Koles, our brethern and castes to assemble at the village Lunkah in Tamar, where we had a consultation. The Pathans had taken our honour and the Singh our sisters and the Kuar, Harnath Sahi, had forcibly deprived us of our estate of twelve villages which he had given to the Singh."[13] These statements prove beyond doubt that the changes of Government which had taken place were not beneficial to the Kols. They were neglected by their new masters, oppressed by aliens, and deprived of the means they formerly possessed of obtaining redress through their own chief."[14] " It often happened that the unfortunate Kol who with difficulty made his way to the far-off station of Chatra or Sherghati found the tables turned on him when he got there. A host of witnesses in the pay of the opposite party were already on the spot, prepared to prove that he had not only no rights in the land but was a turbulent rebel besides."[15]

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105.

14. Hunter, *Statistical Accounts of Bengal* (Lohardagga), p. 350.

15. Quoted in T. S. Macpherson and M. G. Hallett, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers*, Ranchi (Patna, 1917), p. 32.

As such the Kols became desperate and decided upon a vandetta. This is clear from the following statement of Bindra. "It was agreed upon that we should commence to cut, plunder, murder and eat. We said, if any were hanged it would be us four, if any put in irons, we should be the four. We four should be answerable, and if the gentlemen sent for any it would be us, who were ready to attend and submit to whatever might be the sentence. It is with this resolution that we have been murdering and plundering those who have deprived us of both honour and homes, conceiving that by committing such outrages our grievances would come to light and if we had any master, notice would be taken of them and justice rendered."[16]

This was of course the immediate cause of the rising. But there were many other underlying causes. According to Mr. Dent[17] the dissensions in the family of zemindars of Dhalbhum and Burabhum due to disputes regarding succession and inheritance and the disputes regarding revenue matters arising between Zemindars and the dependant Talookdars and other powerful tenants largely accounted for the origin of these disturbances. As he writes, 'to the dissensions in the Raja's family and the general enhancement of the rents and forced contributions from the Ghatwals.....must be added the vigorous severity with which Madhub Singh appears to have enforced his private claims.'[18] Moreover, the Dewans and other officials oppressed the people. This is clear from this extract from the report of Dent: "The particular temperament of these tribes and the tenures on which they hold their lands are such as not to permit them to sit easy under the deprivation of their estates, as far as the rents of those estates which are usually very low, they are ready to pay subsidies under whatever name they may be collected to defray the expense of any unusual festivities in the Rajah's family, or for a horse, an elephant or anything else which may add to the appearance and degnity of their Lord or Master, but they do not understand why the demand for excessive and successive subsidies should be made and a failure to answer the demand be followed by sequestration of the lands which have always been considered their hereditary property."[19]

Mr. Dent has also referred to the various abuses and forms of exploitation of the backward inhabitants of Dalbhum. The price of salt and the abuse of the monopoly of its sale led to a serious grievance of the people. There were various forms of bribery and corruption in the

16. Concluding portion of the statement of Bindra Manki as quoted in the letter of Cuthbert and Wilkinson of 12th February, 1832.

17. Dent, *Report on the disturbances of* 1832-33 *to the Secretary to Government*, p. 156.

18. *Ibid.*, 4th September, 1833.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83, para 56.

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affairs of the abkaree (Excise) and the Beer Thakur, while collecting alwwabs, had introduced many types of Salamees and Dustoorees (forms of illegal gratification). Naturally the ryots were so much irritated that they took active part in the disturbances. Besides these, 'the practice of holding the estates liable to sale for arrears of Revenue and also for debts' was very much disliked.[20] The 'sale of ancestral holding for debt was particularly objected to as something entirely opposed to the custom of the aboriginal tenantry. Nor were indebtedness and its consequences confined to the tenantry, but.....all the Zamindars, the members of their families holding maintenance or other grants, the Sardar Ghatwals, and the bigger intermediate holders generally were in embarrassed circumstances. General improvidence seems to have been the order of the day, and much of the land had already at this time passed more or less permanently to money lending outsiders.[21] Thus all those who were dissatisfied with this state of affairs joined Ganga Narayan Singh when he revolted to establish to claim to the Barabhum estate. They had no interest in the family feud of Ganganarayan, but they certainly hoped that the success of the outbreak would lead to the wiping out of the burdensome debt.

But Barabhum in Manbhum was not the only scene of oppression and lawlessness. Harnath Sahi, the Kuar of Gobindpur, had been depriving for some years past all the mankis of Sonepur of their hereditary estates and they were being given to others on leases. This is corroborated by the statement of Ghossie Manjia before the Nazir of the court of Sherghatty on the 4th of January, 1832[22]. This was also supported by Shaick Deena, an Intelligence Hurkurrah in the agency Establishment, and Bhyroo Singh (Bhairo Singh), a Jemadar of the Intelligence Department[23]. One Byjiwnauth manki also stated[24] to the magistrate at Sherghatty in the presence of the Commissioner Lambert thus: 'The mankis of the villages.....consulted together, and determined that as the foreigners had forcibly deprived them of their villages, disgraced them by violating the women, they would assemble together to be revenged.'

We have it from the report of the Joint Commissioners, Messrs. Dent and Wilkinson[25] that the '*thiccadars* had rendered themselves obnoxious not only to the mankis but to the cultivators. They would not permit the former to have even the fruit of trees which themselves

20. *Ibid.*, p. 185, para 62.
21. H. Coupland, *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Manbhum (Calcutta, 1911), p. 64.
22. *Vide* the letter of W. Wilkinson and Cuthbert, Joint Commissioners, 12th February, 1832.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Quoted in Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

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and their forefathers had planted, and, having only a temporary interest in the land, they naturally raised from it the highest possible rents." Therefore the Kols decided to get rid of the thiccadars and other intermediaries. Moreover, the Joint Commissioners have mentioned the following. The Kols throughout Nagpur had within the last few years had their rents increased by their *elaqadars*, *Zamindars* and *thiccadars* 85 per cent.....They had made the roads throughout the parganas without payment, as beggaries (forced labour). The *mahajans* who had advanced money and grain managed within a twelve month to get from them 70 per cent, and sometimes more. They disliked the tax upon liquor, which was fixed at four annas per house, but more than that amount was levied very generally, besides a rupee salami on almost every village and a *Khasi* or goat.'[26] Other sources of dissatisfaction and irritation were the cultivation of poppy, the *thana* establishment and the forced payment for *Dak* establishment. 'Many of the Kols had executed *Sewakpattas*, that is had sold their services till the debt was discharged, which was in fact binding themselves to give their whole earnings to their creditor, receiving from him food and clothing, or to work for him exclusively, thus becoming his bondmen for life.'[27] The exactions of the Darogas and other amlas of the thana were no less pinching. And all those who perpetrated oppressions on the 'Adivasis' became the victims of their wrath.

Thus the Kol rising of 1831-33 was the result of a number of factors. Of course some of the Rajas and scions of big families (*e.g.* Raja Achet Singh and his Dewan in Singhbhum, Ganganarain in Barabhum) and some chiefs (of Palaman) took the lead, but in essence it was an outbreak of the general masses. It may be said that the explosion of the Kols, 'though no doubt only the bursting forth of a fire that had long been smouldering'[28] had certain unfortunate incidents as its immediate cause. But there is not even a shadow of doubt that discontent against the agrarian system, debt laws and the new judicial and revenue regulations (*e.g.* excise duties, tributary payments) etc., which seemed to be galling to the Zamindars as well as to the ryots, occasioned this furious rising of the Kols. However, it must be admitted that the fire was fanned by 'the influx of hordes of middlemen'.[29] In fact, the Kols were disgusted with the evils of civilized life and they wanted to go back to the State of nature. As Thorton[30] points out, 'the disturbances

26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
29. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
30. Edward Thornton, *The History of the British Empire in India* (London, 1843), vol. V, p. 202.

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themselves would scarcely deserve notice, were it not that they afford additional evidence of the constant tendency of the wilder portion of the subjects of the British Government in India to break loose from the restraints of law and order, and to return to a state where the hand of every man is against his neighbour.' Anyway, we must agree with Reid[31] that this rising made the Government aware of 'the necessity of radical reforms in the administration and after the suppression of the revolt the Regulations were withdrawn and every cause of discontent of the 'Adivasis' was sought to be removed by the reforms in administrative, judicial, police revenue and debt laws and restrictions were imposed on transfer or mortgage of landed property to avoid fraud by middlemen.

31. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

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GROUNDS FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MALCOLM AND BENTINCK

SHRI V. N. DATTA

IN considering the policy of the Company administration, one should remember that individual administrators often reflected divergent trends of political thought, characteristic of various groupings in English political life.

In one of those letters to Thomas Ellis Flower which are not reproduced in full by G. O. Trevelyan in his Life of Macaulay, Macaulay wrote that he would not like to be as great an egotist as John Malcolm.[1] Macaulay may not be regarded as a real judge of character but Malcolm's letters to his patron, the Duke of Wellington,[2] his brother, Sir Pulteney Malcolm[3] and to his wife[4] seem to reveal clearly that he was not only an egotist but also very ambitions. He asked Metcalfe what were his ambitions![5] He thought even of assuming not before long the office of Governor-Generalship.[6] And presumably because he thought too often about his share of promotions which could not be ensured due to conditioning circumstances, naturally he suffered moods of depression and thought very often of leaving India for his home, the kind of nostalgic feeling which comes as a result of unrealised hopes specially for a man removed thousands of miles from his country.

When Mountsuart Elphinstone was offered the Governorship of Bombay in 1819, Malcolm thought that he had been juggled out due to Canning's attitude. Malcolm did not realise that Canning, as President of the Board of Control, had himself put Malcolm's name at the head of the three names which had been submitted for considerations of appointment to the Court of Directors.[7] The explanation as to why Malcolm was superseded by the Court was that he being a soldier could not be

1. *Correspondence of Lord Macaulay*, 0.15.124, 17 October 1831.
2. Kaye, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm*, vol. II, pp. 468-66.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 801-2.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 814-15.
5. Thompson, *The Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, p. 55.
6. Kaye *op. cit.*, pp. 474, 479.
7. C. H. Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 222.

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considered for the office of a Governor.[8] Though disappointed Malcolm never lost heart, congratulated Mountsuart Elphinstone on his appointment as Governor of Bombay and set his eyes on the acquisition of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Central India, the territory which had seized his imagination and was very dear to his heart. He had the same feeling towards Central India which Metcalfe had towards Delhi but even on this, though correspondence continued between Hastings and Malcolm, nothing seems to have been decided due to the Home Government's view which was not in favour of erecting separate, independent States as divorced from Presidencies. As a compensation, Malcolm was invested with the insignia of the Grand Cross.[9] In the meanwhile, the Governorship of Madras fell vacant and the appointment of Munro, otherwise welcome to Malcolm as he had the highest regard for Munro seemed to shock him because he had again been deprived of his legitimate recognition and this time the explanation offered by the Home authorities was that he was a Company's servant and that Madras was the exclusive monopoly of King's servants. The rivalry between civil and military candidates was one of the common features even of daily life when some of the distinguished military commanders seemed to look down upon the civilians as a whole damned lot.[10] These disappointments drove Malcolm to reflections and he began to think as if he had been duped and that he had paid a big price for his connections with Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington, the Political History of India, the undervaluing of Lord Teignmouth's policy, his evidence before the House of Lords in regarding the degree of over-zeal in propagating Christianity in India and his relations with Charles Grant who was a man of consequence from whom he could look for nothing but opposition.[11] But when Munro resigned on grounds of health, the Duke of Wellington advised him not to stand for election as the Court objected to a soldier being a civil Governor, and to the son-in-law being the Governor where the father-in-law was Commander-in-Chief.[12] Malcolm stood for election and the reason for the support from the Court of Directors was that they were anxious to fling Malcolm against the Government candidate, a move which in itself involved the question of power and patronage. It comes as a surprise, that contrary even to the expectations of the Duke of Wellington, Malcolm was offered the Governorship of Bombay, though the question of Central India was still not settled. In spite of the preliminary enquiries made of Malcolm and the answers that he gave, he seems to have had the impression[13] that Central India would be placed under him not in his capacity as Governor but

8. Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
10. Edward Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
11. Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 483-86.

as the man who worked for its creation and development. It sounds somewhat curious that just before his appointment as a Governor by Wynn, Malcolm was thinking of becoming a Director of the East India Company,[14] though his candid and sincere friend, the Duke of Wellington, desired him to rest content with his pension.

When Malcolm reached India for the fourth time on 26th October, 1827, he set his mind again on Central India and desired this territory to be annexed to his Governorship and logically enough he entered into correspondence with Bentinck. Now here were two men holding different views on Indian problems. Munro had died, Elphinstone had left for England and Malcolm was the last of the Big Three who seem to exercise some kind of historical sympathy towards native institutions. Munro and Malcolm, not Elphinstone to that extent, were philosophical conservatives who valued tradition and thought it highly intemperate to stand for new-fangled theories and innovations.[15] Conserve the past as far as it is desirable and go slow with changes were principles which they seemed to have imbibed from Burke and 18th century thinkers generally. Experience and not zeal was the safest guide in the making of the British policy in India.[16] It is common to bracket Munro and Malcolm with Elphinstone without realising that Munro and Malcolm shared a common way of judgment on Education, social policy and native institutions but Elphinstone, while exercising imaginative sympathy towards things Indian, had added something vital and substantial, new ideas and new ways. Elphinstone studied Bentham[17] and became somewhat his great admirer and propagator and the plausible reason why he could not go to all lengths in accepting Bentham's theories of legislation and government was that he had stayed in India for too long and did not catch the atmospheric pressures which were showing their influence in India House, London and Calcutta. Malcolm was the last strong type to reckon with and though Metcalfe had gone a little ahead in his zeal for reform and changes, Malcolm stuck to his earlier views which came into conflict with Bentinck who had arrived in India with convictions of making Benthamism the spirit of his government.

As Governor of Bombay, Malcolm was anxious to retain Central India but he learnt that the project of employing him in Central India[18] was likely to be abandoned on grounds of economy and policy which

14. *Ibid.*, p. 437.

15. Gleig, *Sir Thomas Munro*, vol. II, p. 250. See also Munro's Minute of 31 December, 1824, which was regarded as ' wise, eloquent, statesman-like paper. " See *Lord Ellenborough's Political Diary*, vol. I, p. 246.

16. Malcolm, ' *A Memoir of Central India*. vol. II, pp. 298-300.

17. T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Hon'ble Mountsuart Elphinstone*, vol. II, pp. 45, 45-48, 51, 115.

18. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Wynn, 19th April 1828.

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infuriated him and he attacked unsparingly the Bengal authorities: 'Divide and rule is the maxim of these office men as it is of many others. They have large and concentrated authority and unitl the system is changed, every Governor-General must be, to a certain extent and govern India much, though perhaps unconsciously influenced by the feeling and prejudices of that Presidency to which he more particularly belongs.'[19] Malcolm thought Lord Wellesley to be the only notable exception who ever over-leapt this boundary.[20] Wellesley not only visited other countries but called around him those he thought possessed most knowledge from any Presidency in India.[21] Malcolm hoped that Lord William Bentinck would do something similar and not be biased in favour of his Presidency.[22] On native agency, Malcolm shared Munro's sentiments and believed that in their employment to the office of responsibility, due recognition must be given to the rights of natives. He felt that there might be some hazard in their admission but there was much more in their exclusion.[23] As education and employment were interconnected, Malcolm laid down that schools and colleges, should be 'shut up forthwith unless we mean to give more scope for the lessons and knowledge we are imparting.' At the same time, political considerations weighed with him and that is why he desired the process of employment to be gradual.[24] In no case, ought the natives be excluded though Princes and Chieftains, with their historic past behind them, were legally ordained to rule over their subjects. Actually what position these 'higher and more respectable classes' should occupy is not worked out in details in the writings of Malcolm but what is clear beyond doubt is the continuity of their sacred position of which the British authorities should take cognisance. Here the main emphasis of Malcolm is on the retention of the rights and privileges of the 'Princes and Chieftains whom we find existing over the lands ruled by their forefathers.'[25] Malcolm had the Burkean respect for the historical continuity of antique forms and institutions.' Again, like Burke, he had infinite appreciation for 'fallen greatness', though he did believe in sharing the 'aristocracy of office with the natives of India' and encouraging 'cultivators to become proprietors.'[26] Malcolm lamented over the 'degeneracy of the higher classes in India' and pointed out more than once how 'the levelling system' of the British has depressed them into a useless and discontented class.[27] It was said that the Princes and Chieftains had ceased to be the wonder

19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Bentinck MSS.* Malcolm's Minutes, 4 September, 1829.
25. *Ibid.* Bentinck to Charles Wynn, 9 April 1828.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, Malcolm's Minute, 4 September 1829.

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they were and Malcolm warned the authorities that 'by our neglect in conciliating and harming the higher and more respectable classes of our native subjects we cast away one of the most powerful means we possess of promoting the prosperity and permanency of the Empire.'[28]

In his private letters to Auber, Astel, Ravenshaw and even Metcalfe, Bentinck showed his anxiety to share positions with responsibility with Indians. 'Native Agency cherished and well paid is the sole mode by which our administration can be effectively improved,'[29] wrote Bentinck in his letter to Auber. In his letter to Malcolm, Bentinck realises that Malcolm seemed to have given exaggerated importance to Central India which 'did not offer at present the field of great useful service which your description holds forth.'[30] Furthermore, in the same letter Bentinck added that the principles and maxims which Malcolm had evolved could be applied to 'our western provinces where the field is really great.'[31] As a man of utility, Bentinck could not have any sympathy with traditional rulers and in his letter to Malcolm, Bentinck stated clearly and firmly, 'I am not disposed to feel much respect for these Rajput Chieftains—they are like your old high-land clans, brave plunderers with all the weaknesses, conceit and variety of Asiatic Communities.'[32] In regard to the annexation of Central India to Bombay, Bentinck was not to be influenced by Malcolm's friendly connections with the Duke of Wellington and Ellenborough. Bentinck declared firmly like a man of action as he was in a letter to Malcolm that 'you shall have from me a clean stage, fair play and no favour. I have nothing to do with the promises made to you from home.'[33]

The gulf between Bentinck and Malcolm was more marked. Malcolm had a deep faith in tradition, in the wisdom of the past, in established things and ways. Bentinck was a simple, though confirmed, Westerner, a man of utility, admirer of James Mill, a friend of Bentham and who became subsequently a staunch supporter of Gray's Ministry, keen on the re-shaping of society by applying new ideas to things antique. Malcolm's conflict with Bentinck simplifies a conflict between two ideologies; one based on tradition and sentiment, the other on reason and reforms. While in one case, the object was to improve so long as it would not interfere, in the other case, the consistent desire was to improve wherever necessary, whatever be the consequences. The first attitude reflects slowness in gauging a situation, the other shows impulsiveness.

28. *Bentinck MSS.* Malcom's Minutes, 4 September 1829. Seeal so *Hansard* 1813, vol. XXV, p. 568. Malcolm refers to the "finest qualities of the Rajputs."
29. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Auber, 11 May 1832.
30. *Ibid.*, Bentinck to Malcolm, 26 August 1828.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*

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As for the perpetuation of the British rule and the progress of its subjects, Malcolm seemed to rely on the ability and competence of traditional rulers, though he did not exclude the employment of common people, especially the peasants; but Bentinck seemed to see a new generation in the making for the regeneration of Indian society. Again, Malcolm lamented over the degeneracy of the higher classes and their disappearance. Bentinck welcomed the rise of the new youth, curious and enthusiastic, who 'displayed proficiency in English literature and are said to dissect animals and particularly to handle the bones of human skeleton '.[34] with the aim to 'regenerate this degraded population.'[35] Besides, 'civilization alone interests me,'[36] reflects the utilitarian devotion to the welfare of human society in clear and precise terms and the conservative and traditional outlook which seemed to have influenced minds since the days of Burke was losing its force in matters political due to the gowth of new ideas based on the Benthamite theories of utility and legislation.

84. *Bentinck MSS.* Dissent, against letter to Supreme Government authorising European British Subjects to hold land in India on a lease of 21 years.

85. *Ibid.*, Bentinck to Lord Grenville, 15 December 1831.

86. *Ibid.*, Bentinck to Metcalfe, 17 July 1831.

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KISHANGARH SUCCESSION, 1841

Dr. Hira Lal Gupta

In the process of the evolution of paramountcy, the right of adoption in the matters of succession came up for discussion whenever a protected prince or a dependent ruler had no lineal descendant. This question cropped up either during the lifetime of a ruling prince or after his death. The correspondence between the Residents or Political Agents and the Governors-General from 1818 to 1856 is replete with various aspects and phases of adoption and their recognition by the Paramount Power. One of the important points that emerged on the death of a ruler without making a provision for succession to his *gaddi* was whether his widow should be allowed the right of adoption. The issue of succession to the Rajput state of Kishangarh in 1841 was an instance of this kind which brought to light the usages that prevailed among the Rajput ruling families of Rajasthan.

Maharaja Mohkam Singh of Kishangarh died of cholera unexpectedly on the morning of 17th May, 1841 without any issue and even without making an adoption.[1] He left behind only a widow and no one else in his family. Lt.-Col. J. Sutherland, Agent to the Governor-General for the states of Rajputana, reported that the nearest kins to the Maharaja were the chiefs of Fatehgarh and Ralaota who were the scions of the senior and junior branches of the ancestors of the ruling house of Kishangarh. Of these two, the former, whose claims were much superior to those of the latter, had a bitter enmity with the reigning family of Kishangarh probably because of its pronounced pretensions to the heirship of the state.[2] This hostility had once occasioned the abdication of Maharaja Kalian Singh in the past and it was chiefly owing to the same cause that the short reign of the late Maharaja was full of troubles and contentions in which some chiefs of his state had played prominent roles.[3] Lieutenant Macnaghten told the Political Agent that when the late Maharaja was on his death-bed he named the Ralaota chief as his

1. A letter from Lt.-Coll. J. Sutherland, Agent to the Governor-General for the states of Rajputana, to T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India, 21 May 1841.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

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successor, as he was not favourably inclined towards the Fatehgarh chief.[4] He, therefore, concluded that the ministers and officers of the state might be opposed to the pretensions of the chief of Fatehgarh and might range themselves against him if he advanced his claims. A swinge in his favour or against him by the chiefs of Kishangarh would be swayed by mundane self-interest.[5] In the past also some such complication and trouble had arisen. The son of the late chief of Fatehgarh, about 40 to 50 years of age, had once gone to Calcutta to present the pretensions of his house to the *gaddi* of Kishangarh before Lord Amherst and to seek his support for his family. In the new contingency Sutherland felt that the obvious British interest lay in supporting 'the next heir'.[6] With these remarks he asked for instructions from the Governor-General for his guidance in case of a dispute for succession.

The Governor-General-in-Council did not feel competent to give a categorical decision on the issue as the information in his possession respecting the claims of the probable candidates to the throne of Kishangarh was inadquate and imperfect.[7] However, he stated that if the claims of the Fatehgarh family as next of kin appeared to the Political Agent to be indisputable and superior to those of any other claimant, he would naturally agree with him to support that candidate by formal acknowledgment of his right.[8] Having given this conditional opinion on the issue he asked the Political Agent to state his views whether it would be proper to demand a *nazrana* from the new Maharaja on the occasion of his succession and what would be its value considering the revenues of the state.[9]

About a month after the death of the Maharaja, Sutherland learnt from the *vakil* of that principality and also from other sources that the widow Maharani, being a daughter of the eldest son of the late Maharana Bhim Singh of Udaipur, adopted Sultan Singh, the fifth and the youngest son of the late Maharana, aged three and a half years.[10] This adoption was opposed by the Fatehgarh family, the descendants of the senior branch of Maharana Bagh Singh of Udaipur, as the adopted son descended from the junior branch of the same family.[11] In spite of this opposition, the young boy was placed on the *gaddi* as Maharaja Prithvi Singh, and two *kharitas* were sent in his name to the Political Agent, the one condoling the death of the late Maharaja and the other announcing his accession.

4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 14 June 1841; Extract from a political letter from the Government of India, No. 50, 15 September 1841.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 18 June 1841.
11. *Ibid.*

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The Political Agent declined to receive those letters as he was not fully convinced of the validity of adoption and was not in possession of the reactions in the state. He also received a letter from the Maharani announcing the death of her husband and the adoption made by her in conformity with his wishes and dying declaration. This adoption was accepted in writing by twenty-two chiefs and seven ministers of the state. Contrary to this, repesentations were received from several persons challenging the right of Sultan Singh to succeed. Two brothers of the Fatehgarh ruling family disputed in writing the adoption made by the Maharani. The third brother had a personal interview with Sutherland. He strongly protested against the adoption of the son of a junior branch in supersession of the superior claims of the senior branch and placed the elaims of his own house for succession to the *gaddi*. Similarly, letters were received from the Ralaota chief who claimed succession to himself on the plea that the late Maharaja wished to nominate him as his successor, although, like Sultan Singh he was also the scion of the junior branch of the ruling family. Besides these, a letter signed by six chiefs of Kishangarh, unconnected with the reigning family indicated that the party in power had its own interest in adopting Sultan Singh.[12]

Sutherland did not think that the right of the Maharani to adopt a son in conformity with the Hindu Law after the death of her husband was at all in dispute. He found no reason to support the contention that the adoption should have been confined to the members of the senior branch of the ruling house. He did not find anything wrong with the course adopted by the Maharani. To him she seemed to be perfectly within her rights to effect nomination. But the acquiescence of the opponents of the party in power in the arrangement made by her was not quite certain, as it was destined to give to the Maharani and her party a long period of minority to govern the state. It was in these circumstances that Sutherland refused to commit himself to anything. He even abstained from participating in the ceremonies of adoption and succession and refrained from giving his opinion on the disputed question without definite guidance from the Governor-General.[13] But, later on, when he was in possession of more information on the matter, he felt convinced that fear of a struggle for succession to the throne of Kishangarh was very remote as the Ralaota chief, who had a personal interview with him, had realized that his claims were too absurd to be maintained. He was quite sure that at least that chief would drop his claims and would cease to be a serious potential rival to the Fatehgarh family whose claims were superior and undoubted, if the Maharani's right to adopt was untenable. Similarly he had no doubts

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*

left in his mind that the Fatehgarh chief would not be too indiscreet to go to the extent of waging war to enforce his claims in defiance of the Paramount Power,[14] if his claims were maintained and the Maharani proved to be intractable. On the contrary, if the right of the Maharani to adopt was found to be valid, there was absolutely no apprehension of any violent irruption. The claimants to the throne, who had been notorious for distrurbing the peace of the realm in the past, had fully realized that the British Power was too strong to allow the breakers of peace to take law in their hands and go scot-free.

The Governor-General entertained grave doubts about the right of the Maharani to adopt according to the customs of the Rajput families, unless it was expressly conferred upon her by her husband. He, therefore, instructed Sutherland to depute one of his assistants to ascertain clearly the prevailing custom in Rajputana, to enquire if the Maharani had permission from the late Maharaja to adopt a son after his death,[15] and to prevent the rival parties from indulging in violence and bloodshed.[16] If, as a result of enquiry, her claim, that she had requisite authority from her husband to exercise the privilege of posthumous adoption, was correct, the Governor-General felt that her right would be morally undoubted and legally unchallenged and the British Government would certainly acknowledge her adopted son as heir to the late Maharaja.[17] He was strongly opposed to leaving the matter to chance, as it was destined to open the embers of struggle for succession among the petty chiefs leading to the revival of habits of license and result in disturbances and break down of law and order in the bordering areas.[18] The main problem, therefore, was to regulate succession by grant of recognition to the best claimant after procuring authentic information on various aspects of the issue including the proposed demand of a *nazrana*.

In accordance with the instructions of the Governor-General, Sutherland deputed W. Strachey to Kishangarh on a fact-finding mission with instruction to investigate into the validity of the Maharani's action and the authenticity of the claims of the rival chiefs and to avert the possibility of an outbreak of violence and breach of peace.[19] He was required to enquire firstly, whether the Maharani had authority from her late husband to adopt a son on his behalf; secondly, whether the usage of the Kishangarh house in matters of succession allowed her the right of adoption without such authority; thirdly, whether the Fatehgarh

14. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 25 August 1841.
15. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 19 July 1841.
16. Extract from a political letter from India, No. 71, 22 December 1841.
17. *Ibid.*
18. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 19 July 1841.
19. A letter from Sutherland to Strachey, 25 August 1841.

chiefs had a right to succeed as the next of kin to the late Maharaja, even in opposition to the Maharani's right of adoption ; and fourthly ; if the Maharani had an undoubted right to adopt, whether the usages in Rajasthan restricted her freedom to choose and bound her to take the child from the senior branch of the common ancestors and not from the junior one.[20] These instructions issued by Sutherland to Strachey were approved by the Governor-General-in-Council.[21]

By that time the leaders of the rival parties had realized that decision on the disputed question of succession would ultimately lie with the British Government. All of them, therefore, had deputed their representatives to meet Sutherland at Jodhpur and negotiate the matter with him. The six dissenting chiefs of Kishangarh expressed their concurrence in the propriety of the measures adopted by the representative of the imperial overlord.[22] Sutherland, therefore, reiterated his conviction to the Secretary to the Government that there was not even least reason to apprehend that the rival claimants would venture to disturb public peace, if the decision of the British Government would be contrary to the wishes and expectations of some of the parties in the state.[23] Further probe into the case made him convinced of the validity of the Maharani to adopt a son on behalf of her deceased husband in accordance with the real or even the supposed instructions imparted by him during his lifetime. Her right seemed to be in consonance with most of the schools of thought on Hindu Law quoted by Elphinstone in his history of India, but it was not expressly enjoined by Manu. According to certain schools she was authorized to adopt even without an authority from her husband.[24]

The representatives of the rival parties, who had gone to Jodhpur to meet the Political Agent, accompanied his assistant, Mr. Strachey, to Kishangarh. The information elicited by him from them and from so many other sources during the course of his enquiries into the points raised by Sutherland was laid in a very perspicuous report submitted by him.[25] On the first point, no satisfactory evidence could be obtained, as there were two conflicting views in the state and the evidence in favour of it was too inadequate to produce any conviction.[26] While the inmates of the palace asserted that the Maharaja had authorized the Maharani shortly before his death to select a successor in the event of his death without a nomination, many chiefs, who were not

20. *Ibid.*
21. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 27 August 1841.
22. A letter from Sutherland to Strachey, 25 August 1841.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. A letter from Strachey to Sutherland, 7 October 1841 ; Extract from a political letter from India, No. 27, 10 August 1842.
26.

opposed to her right to adopt and who had actually hailed the adoption, doubted the truth of the story.[27] They had accepted the adoption on the grounds other than that of injunction from the late Maharaja to his wife. If the bitter enmity that subsisted for two generations between the ruling house of Kishangarh and the Fatehgarh family from which the heir presumptive could be legitimately drawn was regarded as true, then there was reason to believe that the dying wish of the Maharaja to the alleged effect was authentic.[28] But any embarrassment which might be felt from the doubtful certainty on the first point was obviated by the information elicited on the second point of inquiry. Strachey, therefore, suggested that the validity of the Maharani's act should be judged not so much on the strength of an injunction from her husband as on the testimony of acceptance of adoption by all the parties in the state which was enough to establish the legality of adoption.[29]

As regards the second question, Strachey found nothing to prove that the usages of Kishangarh or of any state of Rajputana with regard to succession were contrary to what was done by the Maharani.[30] It was fully conceded by all shades of opinions that on sudden demise of the ruler of a state the Maharani had a right to become the legitimate head of the government and to continue to act in that capacity till a successor was chosen and seated on the *gaddi* on attaining maturity. The selection of a successor on such occasions used to be made by an assembly of the chiefs of the state and the relatives of the deceased ruler, convened by the Maharani.[31] In the past the choice always fell upon the nearest of kin, but the rights of primogeniture were not invariably observed. On several occasions preferences were given to the younger brothers over the elder ones. Sometimes even the heirs apparent had made way for their younger brothers because of their real or seeming disqualifications. But in all such cases of departure from the rule of primogeniture, Rajput usages never recognized an arbitrary and capricious decree of the Maharani and always required formal ratification of the arrangement by the chiefs and officers of the state.[32] In this case, although technically the Maharani had not made the selection strictly in accordance with the procedure, but for all practical purposes formal ratification by the chiefs was obtained. The enquiries made by Strachey from the chiefs of the state individually about their reactions to the act of the Maharani revealed that most of them had accepted the *bona fides* of the arrangement and, if the matter would be put before them for confirmation, it would go undisputed by all except the Fatehgarh ruling family which was swayed by self-interest

27. A letter from Strachey to Sutherland, 7 October 1841.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*

to subvert the arrangement.[33] Any reasonable opposition to it could be easily silenced by quoting precedents which affirm the broad principle that the Maharani supported by a large majority of the chiefs of the state could exclude the heir presumptive not being a lineal descendant from the *gaddi* and could disregard the comparatively superior claims in selecting a successor.[34] In Marwar, Devi Singh, son of Raja Ajit Singh, was adopted by the *Thakurani* of Pohkun to the prejudice of several claimants of closer propinquity. The widow of the chief of Ahwa adopted Khushal Singh to the exclusion of his elder brother, Prithvi Singh. Megh Singh, the chief of Diggi, was chosen by his widow in preference to his elder brother, Bishan Singh. Nahar Singh of Deogarh, a kindred of the eleventh degree, was selected to the exclusion of the kindreds of the seventh and eighth degrees. Banswara succession of 1838 was also of the same category. Thus he had good many reasons to believe that all those conditions which were needed for legalizing an adoption in a Rajput state were fulfilled at Kishangarh.[35] The third point of enquiry was, therefore, very weak and the fourth was not likely to affect the act of the Maharani adversely.

When the Fatehgarh party became despondent of getting any support in the state, it argued that the chiefs of Kishangarh were too selfish to be truthful and requested the Assistant Political Agent to decide the case on its own intrinsic merits.[36] Another argument advanced was that the generally accepted principle of selecting a successor from the family lower in descent was violated in the adoption of Sultan Singh. Mohkam Singh, being fourth in descent, could not become father by adoption of Sultan Singh who was only the third in descent from their common ancestor Bahadur Singh.[37] But several precedents proved otherwise. Two of the well-known rulers of Kishangarh were adopted by the widows of their own nephews. The Banswara case was also another perfect parallel, where the second in descent was adopted by Bhawani Singh who was third in descent from the common ancestor Prithivi Singh, although other kindreds were alive in whose selection no objection could have arisen. Such instances of successions retrograding were not few, as in several cases the eligible members of the family were few and the most eligible person could not be slected on very valid political and personal grounds, as it was at Kishangarh.[38]

Another argument, that the disagreement of the two houses should not warrant a sacrifice of the right of primogeniture, was countered by a more convincing logic that the Kishangarh chiefs accepted the pro-

33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*

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priety of the measure on the very ground of the family differences on which objections were raised by the interested party, and this almost unanimous verdict could not be disregarded to uphold a weaker principle without harmful results.[39] Notwithstanding all this, if the claims of the Fatehgarh house were to be recognized, the domination of a hostile faction in the royal palace would undoubtedly be outrageous to the feelings, comforts and interests of the widow Maharani. As the Rajputs by temperament were habituated to inherit family feuds, the Maharani was naturally and quite reasonably repugnant to adopt a lad of sixteen, brought up in the atmosphere of open hostility to her late husband and his adherents, and favourable to accept Sultan Singh, whose family was neutral and politically insignificant and whose infantine age promised her an opportunity to manage the state of her husband as Regent.[40]

In elevating the scion of the family of Bhim Singh in supersession of the claims of the family of Chand Singh, the Maharani only conformed to the well-understood disposition of her husband who would never have thought of the latter. Hence, the right of the Maharani to a free and unfettered choice of an heir had an air of propriety.[41] The *Nazir*, to whom the Maharani had entrusted the management of administration, was popular and efficient, but the Fatehgarh family did not like him. By this appointment she vindicated her choice and by her good government she endeared herself to her subjects.[42]

Lt. Coll. Sutherland attached little value to the evidence as to the authority received by the Maharani from her late husband to adopt a particular person as his successor. But he admitted that on the death of a chief of a Rajput state without an issue or heir by adoption the first thing to be done by his widow was to adopt a son and successor so that the entity of the royal house could be maintained. The facts and arguments adduced by Strachey in support of the affirmative side of the second point fully satisfied. Sutherland that an adoption by the Maharani from amongt the nearest, though not the next, of kin to her deceased husband, made with the consent of the chiefs of the state was perfectly valid in the estimation of the Rajput community and it fully deserved confirmation by the Paramount Power. He, therefore, advised the Governor-General to confirm the adoption made by the Maharani and recognise her adopted son as successor of her late husband.

39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 19 October 1841.

In making this recommendation Sutherland did not pay any heed to the protests of the disgruntled Ralaota chief who questioned the propriety of adoption. He claimed succession to himself on the plea of an alleged declaration made by the late Maharaja in his favour. Although, like the members of the Fatehgarh house, he too did not pretend to deny that the Maharani's act of adoption enjoyed the approval of the chiefs of Kishangarh, but he ascribed it to their proverty, self-interest and helplessness and suggested the following mode of knowing the truth about the fact : ' Take possession of the fort ; take all power out of the hands of those who have the means of bribing and corrupting the chiefs ; and then take their unbiased and honest vote'. However, even this suggestion failed to create any impression upon the Political Agent.[44]

As regards the *nazrana* to be demanded from the new ruler, Sutherland did not consider it advisable to claim it from any of the states of Rajputana. However, it could be demanded if the successor required a *khilat* of investiture to be conferred upon him.[45] But in no case the amount of *nazrana* was to exceed the cost of the *khilat* as it would be against the past practices and quite tantamount to the introduction of a new practice which might be questionable. It might become a source of resentment and for it selfish motives might be imputed to the British Government.[46] Considering the convincing argument given by Strachey in his comprehensive report and declared to be valid by Sutherland, the Governor-General-in-Council recognized the adoption of Sultan Singh and his succession to the *Raj* of Kishangarh under the name of Prithvi Singh.[47]

The most significant point arising out of the British sanction to adoption and succession to the ancient state of Kishangarh was the policy of exacting a money *nazrana* from the ruler of a subordinate state on his accession to the throne. This *nazrana* was charged in token of recognition granted by the Paramount Power to the successor when adoption was made in conformity with the established usages of the Rajputs of Rajputana.[48] Another significant point was the grant of recognition to a successor adopted by the widow of the late ruler of a Rajput state without any proved authority from her deceased husband but with the supposed or real assent of the chiefs and notables of the

44. *Ibid.*

45. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 8 July 1841; Extract from a Political letter from India, No. 71, 22 December 1841; A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 19 October 1841.

46. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 19 October 1841.

47. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 24 January 1842.

48. *Ibid.*

state. While communicating this decision, the Governor-General-in-Council explicitly mentioned the benevolent and bountiful nature of the British Paramountcy in scrupulously adhering to the terms of the engagements, indispensably consistent with good faith, and demanding nothing which was not authorized by the treaties, not even exercising its prerogative to annex which the former paramount powers in India were alleged to have habitually enforced on such occasions.[49]

The engagements contracted with the former rulers of Kishangarh neither authorized explicitly nor by implication the demand of *nazrana* as a condition of recognition to adoption. Strictly speaking, it was neither requisite for the new ruler to request for a *khilat* from the Paramount Power nor it was obligatory on the part of the latter to confer it on the former. Such a contingency was not sanctioned by legal principles. If, however, a *khilat* was asked for in accordance with the practice evolved on the basis of Muslim tradition, no claim could justly be preferred on the score of *nazrana* beyond the value of the *khilat.*[50] This practice worked as a indication of the superiority of the *khilat* conferring and *nazrana*-receiving authority. It constituted one of the ways in which the Paramount Power made itself felt at the time of succession in a subordinate state.

49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*

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MAHARAJA PURANDAR SINGHA

(A 'ROIS FAINANT' OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ASSAM)

PROF. K. N. DUTT

THE six hundred year's unbroken rule in Assam of the mighty Ahoms came to an end with the invasions of the Burmese in the decade between 1815 and 1825 and final British conquest of the territory in 1826. Great and powerful kings, wise statesmen, astute Ministers, clever diplomats, and brave and loyal Generals had distinguished the rule of the Ahoms in their bright and affluent days, but the last fifty years of their sovereignty in Assam had shown all the signs of a decadent polity and a crumbling political edifice. There were palace intrigues, rise to power of imbecile favourites, rivalry amongst court nobles and secret plots engineered by them to get rid of one another. Civil strife raged within the kingdom egged on by religious and sectarian animosities. The personality of the kings was overshadowed by that of wilful queens or ambitious Ministers.[1]

The last three occupants of the Ahom throne—the blood-thirsty but timid Gaurinath Singha, the over-dominated Kamaleswar Singha, and his brother the young Chandrakanta Singha, were but pitiable onlookers of the rot that had crept into the Ahom polity. The last two were but mere tools in the hands of their Prime Minister, Purnananda Buragohain. With the Burmese invasions the reign of puppets on the Ahom throne received a new lease of life. The Burmese conquerors upheld Chandra Kanta Singha for a time and then set up Jogeswar Singha in his place. But on their departure after the first invasion Purandar Singha, a scion of the Ahom Royal family though not of the direct line, a descendant of king Rajeswar Singha, was enthroned king of the Ahoms in 1819. He had ruled for a year before the Burmese returned to Assam and became thereafter a fugitive in British territory sallying forth now and then with what arms and men he could gather in attempts to recover his lost possession.

1. Queen Phuleswari, wife of king Siba Singha, offended the Moamaria Vaishnavas by inviting them to her Durga Puja ceremony and forcibly putting the blood of immolated animals on their foreheads.

When finally he returned to Assam after the Burmese had been driven out of Assam by the British, Purandar Singha was but a sheltered prince who looked up to the British deliverers to restore him to his throne in preference to Chandra Kanta Singha the other claimant. Once again, in 1834, under the protection of the British overlords and by virtue of a Treaty with them Purandar Singha became a Maharaja over a tract of his ancient kingdom in Upper Assam excluding the Muttock country. But no prop could save the dynasty he represented on its ancient but tottering throne, and after only five years of not very popular rule he was in utter despair, his attenuated kingdom being taken over by his overlords leaving nothing for him but a royal name. In their newly won eastern frontier the imperial Britishers found no reason to bolster up a Native State which only a few feudal elements strove to maintain with doubtful popular support. Purandar Singha met with a tragic fate showing the tragic end of a reigning house that had for centuries wielded its dominion with valour and renown. The causes and circumstances that led to the final exit of the last of the Ahom kings from the stage of history are to be found in the break-up of the solidarity of the Ahoms as a ruling race, degeneration of their feudal hierarchy and decay of their martial spirit. That Purandar Singha failed to maintain himself on the throne even with British support was as much due to his own misfortunes as to British imperial design which gradually took shape in this quarter. The following account of the condition of Upper Assam and the position of the Raja in 1838, as gleaned from official sources,[2] is interesting in many ways. It shows how Purandar Singha was a victim of circumstances and how the East India Company justified on the pretext of Purandar Singha's default in payment of the tribute, the eventual consolidation of their gains in Assam and the North East Frontier.

As regards physical aspects of the country, we learn from contemporary records that it was nearly equally fertile throughout and of such a variety of levels and surfaces and subsoils as to be capable of a very varied cultivation. It had been very densely populated judging from the extent of the abandoned villages, which were deserted principally during the civil wars of the last reigns of the Ahom Dynasty and the occupation of the country by the Burmese. The population did not then probably exceed 2,50,000 people, and a considerable immigration having of late been constantly going on, the number of inhabitants must have been a good deal less than when the country was transferred to Raja Purandar Singha.

The desertion of his country by the Ryots appeared to be principally occasioned by the following circumstances: (1) by the Raja's

2. Foreign Department, Political Consultants, No. 58, 16 May 1838.

not giving the remaining Ryots due remission of revenue on account of those who had deserted or were deceased, (2) by the want of military protection against the incursions of the hill tribes, especially of the Duflas and the the Nagas, (3) by the exaction of services for which no due remissions were allowed, (4) by the lightness of the taxation, freedom from harrasing duties and services, and superior protection and immunities enjoyed by the Ryots in the adjoining countries under the administration of the Bor-Senapati and the British Government, and lastly, (5) by the inefficiency of the Civil and Criminal Courts and the malversation of the Raja's principal officers.

Capt. Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, believed that the Raja did not directly increase the rates of taxes but the Ryots had more to pay not only from not being allowed the remission they were entitled to but from the greater corruption which prevailed among the native officers. The tax on the cultivating Ryots was Rs. 3/- which was the same as when theBritish held the country immediately after the conquest, but they complained that the Rajah enforced from them the payment of the full amount of revenue of the last settlement making no deduction for the Ryots who had since deserted or died. This the Rajah admitted, and openly gave as his reason that the pressure of the tribute of Rs. 50,000/- demanded by the British Government did not admit of his allowing any remission. The other Ryots, not cultivators, but getting their livelihood by trades such as the brasswokers, fishermen, gold-washers, Weavers, Potters etc. were taxed at the same rates as formerly, but as all these classes were now freed in the British-held districts from all taxation except for the lands they might actually hold or the nets they might employ, they very reluctantly paid their taxes to the Rajah and were quietly emigrating to avoid them, either to the Company's territory or the Bor-Senapati's.

The transit duties were also nominally the same as before but their amount was increased yearly by being put to auction and as the farmers did not confine the levy of duties to any fixed markets or 'hats' but imposed duties on the transit of articles from village to village, the amount of authorised duty in this manner was repeatedly exacted. Duties were likewise then levied on grain which was before exempted, and as by the bartor of grain all other necessaries or luxuries were purchased the duties were in fact doubled. These exactions were now the more intolerable to the people as the inhabitants of Lower Assam under the Company's administration were relieved from all duties whatsoever. The Rajah acknowledged the vexatiousness of the duties and expressed his wish to abolish them altogether but urged that this could not be done without a corresponding deduction from his tribute.

The next great grievance brought forward by the Ryots was the want of proper military protection against aggressions and robberies of the hill tribes. This was very forcibly brought to the notice of the Commissioner on the north bank while he visited the Rajah's territory early in 1838. Here the Duflas were daily making inroads upon the helpless villagers and carrying off their property, cattle and families. This was due to the fact that the military guards had all been withdrawn by the Rajah. On the Naga Frontier also the Ryots were subjected to nearly similar aggression brought on them by the Raja's want of management. While the people were thus harassed by the hill-men they complained of getting no remissions for the black-mail they were obliged to pay to them.

The Ryots also knew that Pyke services had been abolished in the Company's Districts, felt the constant services they were called upon to perform for the Raja and for all the native nobles and for every description of person holding any kind of office or title to be degrading, and from the severe manner in which these services so unwillingly rendered were commonly exacted, to be intolerable. They compalined, probably with some truth that services were often demanded whenever remissions of revenue were allowed and fines exacted with such severity for accidental and necessary absences as to amount frequently to the full deduction they were entitled to.

The chief causes of complaint appeared however to arise from the mal-administration of the Raja's Court which, the people asserted, afforded no assurance that they would be protected in any rights or obtain redress for any injuries inflicted upon them until they had the means of bribing the officers of the Court. Jenkins believed that there was too much reason to apprehend that the statement was mainly correct and he feared that there had been much irregular interference with the decisions of the courts by the members of the Raja's family. Under such circumstances as related above, it was not to be wondered that there was a considerable emigration of the Ryots and in this respect the district of the North Bank appeared to suffer most severely. In that part of the country east of the river Subansiri the depopulation was most alarming and if not timely arrested, theatened to end in the total desertion of the country and falling off of collections.

A retrospective review of the revenues of Upper Assam from its first settlement under the Company in 1828 showed diminution of the revenue of the Raja but Jenkins believed that his finances were better than they would seem to be from the exposition of the comparative revenue figures. For whereas under the Company the establishments were efficient and their pay in money was heavy and this charge was borne on the net revenue, the Raja had greatly reduced his establish-

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ments and paid them also entirely from the gross revenue by assignments of Pykes and lands and with very little exception the expenses of himself and the members of his family and his household expenses were charged upon the gross revenue so that the collections of net revenue were entirely available for the payment of his tribute. But whatever might be the nominal Jumma it was certain that it required revision and that even according to the existing system of settlement a considerable remission was required as was sufficiently shown by the diminished collections. To Jenkins it also appeared that there was not only required a revision of the settlements but an entire new organisation of the revenue arrangements similar to what had taken place in lower Assam and this change was to be accompanied by a reform of the Raja's Police and courts of Judicature.

Purandar Singha solicited a remission of a part of his tribute under the plea that it was at first fixed at too high an amount and Jenkins believed that the result of the Raja's management had certainly shown that the tribute was too much for him to pay although it could readily have been paid had his administration of the affairs of the country been equally good and strong as that of the Company. The Commissioner held that the failure was largely due to the personal character of the Raja. From the character of the Raja and the impression his rule had made upon the people, Jenkins doubted whether he would be able to institute and effectual reorganisation of his Government in all its branches without which even half the tribute was not sure to come. Jenkins therefore recommended that Government should resume such a portion of the country as might be expected, at no distant period, to yield a surplus revenue under British rule which would be nearly equal to the existing tribute, and free the Raja from any demand upon him so that he would have no excuse for not governing the remaining country properly. For it was on the plea of a want of means and of apprehension that he would not be able to meet the tribute to the suzerain power that, as he alleged, he had not maintained more efficient establishments and had refrained from following up the Company's revenue arrangements in his own territories at least in part.

The Raja was of opinion that the adoption of the system introduced by the Company in Lower Assam altogether was not practicable. The Pyke system had been so long the prevailing system of the country that the Rajah apprehended that its abolition altogether would deprive him of the means of supporting his dignity and living after the manner of his predecessors, that is, being maintained in everything he required by the labours of his different classes of Pykes without the necessity of purchasing a single article and surrounded by all the nobility and gentry and half the population of the country rendering Pyke service in their various professions and labours. It was true that had not the East

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India Company's authorities first set the example, the Rajah could not have broken up the old Khel system of the Assam Rajahs and it would have been difficult, with the feelings he had, to persuade him to do it to any extent now.

Purandar having failed to pay his tribute according to the article of his treaty with the British Government and fallen heavily into arrears stating his inability to go on paying, the Government might set him aside altogether but Jenkins believed that he was entitled to an indulgent consideration on several accounts. The lightness of taxation in the Muttock country in consequence of the Borsenapati having no tribute to pay had certainly been the cause of the Raja's losing many of his Ryots. During the priod when the British held the territory of Purandar Singha the emigration was checked by the Bursenapati being obliged to pay over to the British the personal tax of the deserted Pykes. This the Government did not allow to be continued in favour of the Rajah nor did they authorise a proportionate tribute to be imposed upon the Muttock Chief so that seeing his own interest the latter held out every inducement to the Rajah's Ryots to desert by not only taxing them very lightly but by making them advances and giving them free grants in the first instance.

This immunity from taxation in the Muttock country the Rajah had not foreseen nor had he foreseen the great changes which the Company's administration was about to make in Lower Assam and which had the effect of making things intolerable to his own Ryots and of seducing numbers of them into the Company's districts many of whom were not only made freemen by this removal but altogether relieved from any taxation. Nor was the alleged misrule of the Rajah entirely without excuse. The Government had placed him in unlimited authority over a large population of which the great majority of the Upper Classes were opposed to him individually and the lower classes of which were disinclined to any change. The supreme Government had not consulted the population and knew little of the competency to govern of the person to whom was allowed an indefinite power contrary to the custom of the country.

Capt. Jenkins was of opinion that Purandar Singha was obnoxious to the people generally, without experience and from his long residence in Bengal he had little common feeling with the Assamese. That things therefore did not work smoothly was as much perhaps the Rajah's misfortune as his fault and it was possible that many of the people about him took advantage of his ruling passion, a lust for money, and purposely counselled him wrongly with a view to involve him in difficulties and get rid of his government.

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Although therefore the failure of the Raja in his engagements had given to Government the right to interfere to secure their own interests the Rajah had in Jenkins' opinion a strong claim on their indulgence and so Jenkins recommended that while resuming a portion of the country in lieu of the tribute he be treated with much leniency. Jenkins recommended the resumption of the whole of the north bank, the great island of the Majuli and that tract of country which lay between the rivers Disang and Buri-Dihing and south of the former river and east of its confinement, the Sufri Nudee. The total revenue of these territories was estimated at Rs. 84,000/-, but Jenkins pointed to its extensive area and the possibility of its quick improvement under a stable administration. By this arrangement the Rajah would be left a compact division very conveniently situated round his capital at Jorhat, the net revenue of which was estimated at upwards of Rs. 90,000/-.

The area proposed to be taken over was equal to 2,956 sq. miles whilst the Rajah would be left only 1,492 sq.miles. The former embraced by far the richest tracts in Assam but the latter had great present advantages in a denser population, the extent of its cultivation (of the Salee dhan crop) being about 70,000 poorahs. But it was quite likely that the Rajah's Division would before long be greatly reduced in value for it was by the influx of his Ryots that the other area could be much improved and undoubtedly before the Rajah could do anything to reconcile his rule to the people, there would be a large migration of his people to the British possessions. Other Ryots would be coming here from the Bursenapati's country as well, for many had been driven away from the north bank by the incursions of the Duflas and many by the oppressions of the Khamptis. Jenkins also looked forward to accessions from the hills and to a considerable improvement of the salt farms in this area under better management. He further believed that British occupation of this part of the country would secure great amelioration of a large extent of country if not also of the Rajah's, and this would lead to a proportionate extension of the trade which would benefit the whole province.

In making his proposals Capt. Jenkins also pointed to the great political advantages to be gained by their acceptance. The Rajah's mismanagement of affairs had led to the atrocities of the Duflas which threatened to desolate the whole of the north Bank. The Miris and the Abors had also been incensed by the Rajah's reduction of their black-mail and some of the Naga tribes had been exasperated at the Rajah's dealings with them, and had in consequence inflicted several cruelities upon the unfortunate Ryots in the neighbourhood. The resumption of the proposed territory would bring all these hill tribes under the management of the Company's Government which would result in restoring

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a state of tranquillity in the frontiers. The Rajah would also be prevented from coming in contact with the Borsenapati and the Singphos and would be restrained to a comparatively small district capable of easy management. The occupation of the proposed area would also enable the British authorities to connect Lower Assam with Sadiya by a good practicable road and to open roads for their troops towards the most vulnerable portions of their 'frontiers, the passes to Ava and the Singpho country. The large tract on the north bank east of the river Subansiri which was under the local management of a Khampti chief was in a still worse state so that the continuance of the District between the Disang and the Dihing under the Rajah's Government, being mostly inhabited by hill tribes, threatened to bring dangerous disturbances in that quarter. Thus security of the frontiers, control and management of the border tribes, development of the resources of an extensive tract of country and eventual consolidation of the British power in Assam were the considerations uppermost in the mind of Capt. Jenkins at this time.

Prospects of development of the resources of this fertile and rich province had also weighed greatly with Jenkins. All Upper Assam was then in a measure lost to the traffic of the country from the injudicious taxation and 'barbarous management, of the native princes into whose hands the districts had fallen. The resumption of the proposed area to British rule together with other contemplated measures would have the effect of throwing open the whole country to the unfettered industry and competition of European and native merchants. The iron, the salt, the coal and the tea of the south-eastern districts would alone suffice to enrich a country under the active energy of Europeans. It appeared to Jenkins that under the existing pernicious management these resources would not be rendered available for what they were capable of being made under judicious encouragement. He was also almost convinced that further intervention would be necessary in the affairs of the Rajah who could not be expected to improve his ways even within the restricted dominion now proposed to be left with him. The Government should, therefore, he thought, insist upon all the courts and police being remodelled in his territory as was done at Cooch Bihar, and placed in an efficient state upon the system observed in the British districts and in accordance with the advice of the Political Agent of Upper Assam.

The Supreme Government gave more than due considerations to the proposals of their Agent in the North-East Frontier and very little to the difficulties and disadvantages of Purandar Singha and the very unfavourable circumstances he was placed in. Purandar Singha was but feebly upholding a dying state-craft destined to be obliterated by the new state-craft of the British which was to modernise the face of Assam and her economy slowly but surely. The Court of Directors finally decided that the whole, and not only a part as recommended by Jenkins

of the territory of Purandar Singha, should be resumed and Purandar Singha should be pensioned off. Accordingly in September, 1838, Purandar Singha was obliged to get down from his 'gadi' in Upper Assam, sorely distressed at the treatment meted out to him by the British authorities.

In rightful indignation Purandar Singha refused to accept the proferred pension of Rs. 1,000/- per month and by memorials and representations to the Agent and to the Supreme Government continued to justify his claims for a restoration to his Raj till his death on 1st October, 1845. After him his son Kameswar Singha and then his grandson Mandarpeswar Singha Saning Raja,[3] similarly refused the pension offered and demanded instead a restoration. The pent-up grievances of this royal family were brought to a heard in 1857 by their Counsellor Maniram Dewan who, in the wake of the Sepoy Mutiny, planned to overthrow the British regime in Assam by an armed revolution. This revolution proved abortive with the result that the Dewan was sent to the gallows and the young Raja made a political prisoner in 1858. There is hardly any doubt that Purandar Singha was not given a "fair trial" before he was removed from the rulership of Upper Assam and he was sacrificed to the needs of imperial defence and consolidation of British rule in Assam.

3. Saring Rajah = heir apparent.

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VIEWS OF A CONTEMPORARY BRITISH OFFICIALS ON CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL AND BIHAR IN 1855

Shri Aditya Prasad Jha

The few years intervening between the passing of the 1858 Charter Act and the outbreak of the 1857 Movement are unusually significant in the history of Modern India, particularly in the administrative history of Bengal and Bihar, which together with Orissa and Assam then formed the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. The administrative requirements of these provinces had long been neglected on account of their remaining tagged with the overburdened charge of the Governor-General, and the creation of a separate Lieutenant-Governorship for them in 1854 was a move in the direction of reform, which an influential section of civil service[1] had long been pressing for.

This period, as it is well-known, was marked by an almost abrupt widening up of the scope of governmental functions in India caused by the pressure of new capitalistic forces working in England—a pressure which the Company had stubbornly resisted so long as it could, and consequently by formulation and adoption of most ambitious plans regarding Education and Public Works, Roads and Railways, Post and Telegraph, Canals and Steam Navigation, for successful execution of which the existing machinery of government was found miserably inadequate. Thus a re-examination of the whole civil administration, which had been started by Bentinck and Macaulay under similar circumstances in the wake of the 1833 Charter and which had been shelved subsequently on account of wars on the north west frontiers, was vigorously resumed by Dalhousie's Government.[2] This provided a suitable occasion to the leading civil servants for free expression of their views on various problems of civil administration. So far as the Bengal system was concerned, the official and unofficial writings of some more illustrious

1. The term 'civil service' is intended here to include also those military officers who were on civil employ.

2. In Bengal the work was started by Dalhousie in his capacity as the 'Governor of Bengal' and was carried further at his instance by F. J. Halliday, the new Lt.-Governor, but it could not be finalised in Dalhousie's time (*vide* Dalhousie's Minute, 24 April 1854 and Govt. of Bengal Letter, 28 April 1854 to Govt. of India, as also Halliday's Minutes, 28 October 1854 and 1 March 1855).

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of these men, such as F. J. Halliday and J. P. Grant, Cecil Beadon and William Grey, Seton-Karr and George Campbell, are already available to us in print and these contain some finest stuff on the history of British administration in India. But there were others, less fortunate of course, though not necessarily less intelligent, whose views could not receive equal amount of attention either in their own time or in the subsequent period, though they contain equally rich food for the present day historian. To this latter class belonged William Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna Division in 1855, whose removal from that office and subsequent dismissal from civil service form one of the well-known dramas connected with the history of the 1857 Movement.

Tayler had already served Government in different capacities and had acquired a close acquaintance with the people and problems in Bihar on account of his long residence in this province as District and Sessions Judge at Arrah, from which office he had been promoted to the Patna Commissionership. Ablest and most experienced of the civilians then employed in Bihar, he was unreservedly critical of the 'Bengal officialism' and stood far above many of his contemporaries for his fearless expression of views, which, as the subsequent events proved, cost him too dearly. His misfortune is ascribed by many to the enmity of Halliday whom he had infuriated by frequently criticising his measures.

Nature of Government :

In course of the re-examination of the governmental set-up, above alluded to, Tayler was consulted by the Lieutenant-Governor like other officers of his rank. He communicated his views in several official letters addressed to the Government of Bengal, one of which, dated 11th July, 1855,[3] beigns with the following remarks on the system then operating in the Lower Provinces :—'The Government of Bengal has hitherto presented the spectacle of a mighty chain with broken and disconnected links, so that communication between either end has been either partially intercepted or entirely lost. There has consequently been no sympathetic action between the governor and the governed. The wisdom and benevolence of many great and noble schemes have been obscured or lost in the mists of error, misconception and indolence before they have reached the reason or the hearts of those for whose benefit they were devised and the people ignorant of an intention have felt only (*sic*) which has injured or offended them, and the overstrained principles of a too scrupulous civilization have been forced on a Government of which the essential attributes are unshackled energy and close responsibility."

3. *Patna Commissioner's English Correspondence*, 1855-56, vol. 472 (deposited in Central Records Office, Bihar, Patna).

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From his own experience of what he had seen in Bihar, where several new measures of reform, especially in Education, Jails and Law Courts, were being viewed with great indignation often leading to open disturbances, Tayler had come to the conclusion that the Government he was serving had completely lost its touch with the people and worst consequences might follow if the misunderstanding between the ruler and the ruled was allowed to grow. To re-establish this touch, which was essential for the success of every reform, of which he was an ardent advocate, he suggested a close and vigorous administration working on enlightened despotic principles.

Lt.-Governor and Divisional Commissioners:

He, therefore, 'hailed by acclamation' the creation of a separate Lieutenant-Governorship for Bengal, which he regarded as 'the corner-stone of the nation's prosperity', but advocated the extension of the same principle, *viz.*, the concentration of all executive powers in an able hand working under proper supervision, to the Divisional Commissionr's level. It is significant that this sort of concentration, which had been intended by Bentinck at Commissioner's level while creating that office in 1829 and which was subsequently effected at Collector's level after 1859, did nowhere exist in Bengal in 1855 below the Lieutenant-Governor. The Commissionr's office had been fast losing its original significance since the transfer of sessions trial to the District and Additional District Judges in 1831 and 1885 and police powers to the Superintendent of Police in 1837. The abolition of the last named office in 1854 and the consequent reversion of police supervision to the Commissioner marked an opposite trend which Tayler wished to carry to its full length. This trend was, however, strongly opposed by Barnes Peacock, Member of Governor-General's Council, who suggested the abolition of 7 out of 8 Commissionerships (excepting Cuttuck) in the Lower Provinces, 'substituting two or three Divisional Commissioners of Police'[4] in their place. On this question Tayler stated as follows:—

> 'Glancig downwards then along the chain of administration which connects the Lieut.-Governor with the great mass of people —and assuming the absolute encumbrance of the Board[5] as it clearly must be removed—, the first improvement that suggests itself is to enlarge the powers and responsibility of the Divisional Commissioner. After a careful selection of the best man for the office of Commissioner I would place the division in his hand for weal or woe and hold him solely responsible for its welfare and administration. I would demand from him a close acquaintance with every nook and corner of the districts—the character and requirements of the people, the resources of the country, its wants

4. *Vide* Barnes Peacock's Minute, 30 April 1857.
5. Board of Revenue.

and its wishes. As Superintendent of Police he should be personally acquainted with the character of the entire police force so that not even an *effete chowkeedar* or superincumbent should hold office without the certainty of detection while his information in regard to all the details of crime and classes of criminals should be equally close and practical. As Commissioner of Revenue he should in the like manner be intimately informed on all matters connected with the relative interests of the agricultural community—taking comprehensive view of the entire subject and watching narrowly the effects of the legislative enactments and judicial decisions and all important points such as the rights of enhancement of rents[6] the concealment of tenures, and all matters of a similar nature. Again he should as senior and superintending officer exercise a vigilant supervision over all his local subordinates, stimulating the indolent, instructing the inexperienced—and by strong or gentle means securing the hearty co-operation of all—himself being held responsible for any glaring deficiencies or misconduct of his subordinates if not noticed by him.....

The immediate effect would be to draw at once the really able men and reduce mediocrity, indolence or senility to the proper sphere. Few would udertake (and) none could successfully carry on such an administration unless qualified by zeal, mental acumen and bodily activity.....

Each Commissioner conscious that he would be weighed in the balance with the rest—and that all he did for good or evil would be patent to the Government, would necessarily devote his entire energies of mind and body to the arduous and interesting task; while the Lieut.-Governor in constant, prompt and confidential communication on all points with the Commissioners would know his officers and feel that he had his Government under command.'

Magistrate and Collector:

On the next important subject of the union of the offices of the Magistrate and Collector which had given rise to an irreconciliable controversy, especially between Hallidy and Grant, Tayler suffered from no hallucinations. He pointedly remarked:—'The Magistrates and Collectors[7] would work appropriately under the Commissioners but with much more effect if their functions united.'

6. Here the writing is not clear.

7. These offices had been separated in Bengal by Cornwallis in 1793, but reunited by Bentinck in 1831. The Police Committee of 1836 again recommended their separation and between 1837 and 1845 the two offices were once more disunited in all the districts of Lower Provinces except in the 8 districts of Cuttack and 8 independent Joint-Magistracies of Pubna, Maldah, Bogra, Bullooah, Furreedpore, Bankura, Baraset and Chumparan. The matter stood on the same footing in 1855.

Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector:

On the proposed union of the offices of Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, which were required to play the most important role in the successful working and extension of the Sub-Divisional system, introduced in Bengal in 1845, Tayler's words were equally laconic. He said :—'The Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors which offices are about to be combined will form the next grade but there appears to me to be a change required in the next joint of the chain.' Here he means the Police Darogas, but before we come to them it would be worthwhile to consider his views on the existing police force, which make an interesting reading in the context of what happened in Bihar in 1857.

Police Force :

In his letter[8] to the Government of Bengal, dated 26th August, 1855, Tayler stated :—'The utter weakness of the civil power as the police is at present constituted appears to me the great scandal of our administration. There is not a Magistrate in Bengal who feels that in any dangerous emergency calling for vigour and courage he could rely on his police force or rather who does not feel that he would be left in the lurch by every individual composing it.

With a force numerically enormous the executive Government is absolutely embecile. Half the Chowkeedars and Burkundazes are caricatures of manhood and every stout and stalwart arm is ranged on the side of disorder and disaffection. The result of this is not only that the people (who) cudgel one another live out with impunity (*sic*) the very shadow of the English capital but that in the occasion of any local dispute either in jail, or city, or what is still worse, on any panic however groundless and absurd, —being the special army the residents— a requisition is made for military aid, an exhibition of the helplessness of the civil arm is afforded, a feeling of permanent insecurity is spread abroad, and the minds of all are unsettled and irritated and the breach between the governor and the governed is fatally widened.

There is a native proverb of much significance embodying the essential principles of the rule of the strong arm, *viz.*, "*Jiski lathee ooska Bhaes*". Nothing more pithily denotes the relative position of the two antagonists, the civil power of British India and its pugnacious subjects. The latter have the cudgel and therefore get the Buffalo—and I know nothing that brings to my mind a keener feeling of shame and humiliation than the fact, admitted on all hands and noted significantly by natives of all classes, that club law is *de facto* dominant throughout their

8. *Patna Commissioner's Correspondence*, vol. 472.

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country and that with all our high prestige, sounding titles, our immense police force and numerous establishments—a body of rebellious prisoners, a band of *dacoits*, or a troop of *lathials* might at any time ride rough shod over us unless we could call the soldiery to our sides.

The remedy for this degrading state of things is obviously the organisation of an efficient armed police which would by its pay and privileges bring over the stout arms and the trenchent sticks to the side of order and Government, and enable the executive to deal with turbulence in all its shapes without the very objectionable measure of a resort to military force."

Police Darogas:

Adverting to the Police *Darogas*, whose reform had ever been a taxing problem since their creation by Cornwallis in 1793, Tayler said :—'The name of *Darogah* is an abomination to the people, and contrary to an old and questionable adage—I believe there is a vast deal in a name—and that the same office by some other name would smell much sweeter than the *Darogah* now does. I think it would be well worthy of consideration whether an officer of lower grade and restricted powers might be appointed under the Deputy Magistrates to be denominated perhaps Assistant Deputy.....Such an officer corresponding in some measure with the Tehsildars in the west, might exercise worthiy in both departments, and with efficient and educated Jemadars at each Thannah—the ill-ardoured *Darogah* might possibly be abolished.

I throw out this idea with great hesitation and deference, but no one who knows the extent to which the *Darogah* is abhorred and feared in the muffussil can fail to feel that the abolition even of the name will be a blessing.'

Village Putwarees :

From Police *Darogahs* Tayler turned to the Village *Putwarees*. Under Mughal Government these latter were official repositories of all revenue accounts in the villages and guardians of ryots' rights against zamindars and farmers. They were at first kept up by Cornwallis in 1793, but Government protection was soon withdrawn from them, and they gradually died out in Bengal proper. In Bihar, where old village institutions survived longer than in Bengal, they, however, continued as zamindars' servants and were still influential in 1855. This survival is accounted for by E. F. Latour, Collector of Tirhut in Tayler's time, as follows:—'We have few *mehals* the proprietary right of which belong to one individual, estates held *putteedari* is the rule, these again are subdivided as families increase, the *Putwaree* or village accountant is therefore a man of no small importance in such a community

as he keeps the village accounts, makes the collections and as the *kists* are collected it is his duty and business to divide them among the 10 or 100 proprietors as the case may be. The landed tenures of Bengal are entirely different from those of Tirhut. I once heard an officer of very high standing in service remark on the absurdity of the zamindars of this district keeping *Putwarees* remarking that they did not exist in Bengal, but they are of the greatest importance as I have shown.'[9] As a class they were against the new reform measures, as Latour affirms in the same letter, but Tayler wished to revive them and enlist their influence for popularisation of the plans.

He thought that these men 'with very little trouble may even under the existing law be organised into a body of useful and intelligent coadjutors (and) will calculate from their position in society and the nature of their duties to fill up the present gap between the Deputy Magistrate Collector and the people — a gap which is at present occupied by the dreaded myrmidons of the police who form a non-conductive and disjunctive not a connecting link."

He contrasted their position in Bihar from that in the North-West Provinces where they were "turned to valuable accounts as trustworthy agents of Government, referees on all *Nuthees* of land disputes, and useful mediators between the local authorities and the people.' He continued in the same vein :— 'In these districts they are the hireling creatures of the zamindar's servants or evil paid perjurors. The consequence is that they are a nuisance rather than a benefit. Their name and position gives them certain influence and that influence is in nine cases out of ten exerted against the Ryot whose rights they ought to protect. No papers are under present system filed by them unless specially called for and thus when disputes arise there is no recognised standard of reference.

A zamindar with his suborned witnesses and subservient *putwaree* holds the ryots at his mercy and is only restricted there by the fear of injuring his rental or bringing the formidable *lathees* upon his head.

I beg to urge this subject earnestly upon His Honour's attention as one of immense importance to the welfare of the country and the interests of the agricultural body. The entire subject of rent and the rates fairly payable by the Ryots is one that is fraught with patrol-consequences and the subject appears to me to be less understood than any other.

9. Letter, 15 May, 1857, from Collector of Tirhut to Commissioner of Bhagalpur, *Muzaffarpur Collector's English Correspondence*, 1856-57.

There are many confusing decisions on record, several anamolous ruled laid down in the precedents of the Sudder and altogether such a passable and unsettled standard, that the poor ryot neither knows nor can know what his privileges and liabilities are.

If the *Putwarees* be brought into a state of efficient organisation and control, they will effectively supply the last connecting link between the Government and the mass of the people. They will be valuable agents for the explanation of all schemes for the amelioration of the people and if properly managed capable of co-operation in carrying them into execution.

Their accounts punctually rendered in a succinct form will consti tute a recognised standard for the decision of all disputes touchin rates of rent, increase of produce (?) or other revenue contravention an a system connecting every link in the chain of administration will thu be fully and permanently established.'

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LIFE IN THE RED FORT 1851-1858

Shri KRISHAN LAL

In the Miscellaneous Records of the Foreign Political Department of the National Archives of India, there is a volume of 800 pages entitled Precis[1] of Palace Intelligence. It was mainly written for the purpose of reporting the various activities of Bahadur Shah II, the last king of Delhi. It contains weekly reports of three years (6th January 1851 to 1st January 1854). Though its object was mainly political, yet it throws a flood of light on the personal life of the king, the queen, the Princes and the Social and Cultural life of the inmates of the Red Fort, whose number was more than two thousand.[2]

I. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF BAHADUR SHAH

The king was devoted to his queen Zeenut Mahal whom he had married[3] in 1840. Under her influence he made repeated attempts to make her son Mirza Jawan Bukht (who was only 11 at that time) heir apparent[4] to the throne of Delhi. Under her influence also he treated his elder sons badly. He reduced the allowance of Mirza Fakhruddeen. The king tried to increase the importance of Mirza Jawan Bakht by sending him as his representative on various occasions.[5] Mirza Hyder Shekoh came from Lucknow and met Bahadur Shah. He gave him the false hopes about the success of his efforts to get the claims of Bahadur Shah recognized[6] through the good offices of Oudh Court. It appears that he circulated in Lucknow the false news that the king was willing to become a Shea. The circulation of this news greatly annoyed[7] the king. He was informed that the king of Delhi had no right to confer titles or khilluts on Government servants like Dr. Chaman Lal.

1. *Political Foreign Miscellaneous Records*, No. 362.
2. *Punjab Govt. Records*, vol. I, p. 431.
3. Delhi Urdu Akhbar, No. 193, 23 November 1840.
4. *Punjab Govt. Records*, vol. I, pp. 475-88.
5. 17th August, 1851.
6. Entry in 6 November, 1853.
7. Entry in 21 December 1853.

Personal life of the king :

The programme of the king was divided in two parts. One beginning with the early morning and the other about four in the afternoon. Though the king was seventy-six years old, yet he was very energetic and used to go out for hunting everyday except when he was ill. He was not only a good rider but also a great expert in judging[8] horses. He was also a good hunter. The resources of the king were very meagre. He had to depend mostly on the pension received from the British. But in spite of this, he partook in the joys and sufferings of the inhabitants of the Fort. On the occasion of the marriage of the daughter of Koonwur Debee Singh, he sent the bride, the bridal garments. He gave rupees two thousand to Hukeemm Ahsanoollah Khan on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter.[9] On the death of Miza Luteef Buksh, the king ordered rupees 200 to be furnished for his funeral feast and burial.[10] Similarly when a camel sowar had been severely hurt by the bursting of his gun, His Majesty gave him ten rupees and sent him to Dr. Chamman Lal. Begum Zeenut Mahal was the favourite wife of the king. Steadily her influence increased. She attended important meetings sitting behind the purdah. In 1853 the king issued a Hookumnamah[11] to all his officers to submit every petition they had to make through Nawab Zeenut Mahal Begum. For her sake, he took the unusual step by staying outside Red Fort in Lal Kooa in the house of Zeenut Mahal for more than a fortnight.[12] Nawab Taj Mahal Begum and Shurafat Mahal Begum were other wives of the king. The king had kept a number of concubines. The names of the following are referred to : Khrum Baee, Dilrooba,[13] Peeare Baee, Soojan Baee, Islamool Nissa and Aramool Nissa Khanum.

Among the sons of Bahadur Shah, the following are important :— Mirza Jawan Bukht, Mirza Fukhrooddeen,[14] Mirza Moghul and Mirza Abdoola. The king's relations with the Heir Apparent Mirza Fukhroodeen were extremely strained.

The king had a great love for gardens. Shahiabad garden, Bagh Roshanara, Surhundee garden, Koodysa Bagh, Bagh Muhaldar Khan,[15] Mehtab Bagh, Hyat Buksh Garden, Shah Bagh and garden in Shahderah were often visited by the king. He even planted a new garden.[16]

8. 13 June 1851.
9. 28, 10, 20 October 1853.
10. 10 October 1853.
11. 13 November 1853.
12. 8 November 1853.
13. 17 September 1853.
14. 10 January 1853.
15. 9 December 1853.
16. 14 August 1853.

The king had a high notion of the prestige of the Mughal House. He refused the admission into the fort of Nawab of Bahwalpur unless he would put off his Kulge. He strongly disliked the idea of giving a chair to the Resident and permitting the Commander-in-Chief to enter Diwan-i-Am on a horse back.

Mirza Jawan Bukht's Marriage

Mirza Jawan Bukhts was the favourite son of the king. His marriage was an important event of those days. Preparations for his marriage were started much earlier than the actual date of marriage. The king took a loan [17] of Rupees 95,000 for his marriage. Betrothal, Mehneedee procession and Chowtah ceremonies were celebrated with great pomp and show. Both Zauq and Ghalib composed congratulatory poems on the occasion. Huge sums of money were spent on the fireworks and illuminations. Dancing parties and musical concerts increased the charm of the marriage. The king presented the bride with some gold anklets, a pearl necklace, forehead ornaments and other jewels. Wulee Dad Khan, the father of the bride, gave the following things in marriage dowry.[19] 80 trays of clothings, 2 trays of jewellery, a golden canopy, vessels of silver and copper, 4 thousand rupees in cash, an elephant and 4 horses with embroidered trappings and 2 riding camels, etc.

Influence of Hukeem Ahsanoolla Khan :

This hukeem was not only a great physician of his times but was also the Prime Minister of the king. In all important matters concerning the Court, he was consulted. Mostly he used to write the shooqas of the king and the king used to affix his signet on them.

System of the Administration:

Muhboob Alee Khan remained the Nazir[20] (Chief Administrator) throughout this period. He was responsible for proper distribution of the pension. The pension of the East India Company was the main stay of the inhabitants of the Palace. He had the power of turning out of the Red Fort all undesirable persons, which was considered to be a very shameful thing for a person. The other officers were Kotwal[21] of the Fort, Mooftee, Qazee, Mookhtar, Mootsudee of the jewels office, captain of the Boys' Battalion, Meer Toozak (Maker of ceremonies), Water carriers to put out the Fire, English Clerk, Mr. George[22] to translate

17. 9 January 1852.
18. 16 March 1852.
19. 2 April 1852.
20. 31 December 1851.
21. 5 June 1852.
22. 12 April 1851.

Persian letters into English and *vice versa*, Darwan of Nagar Khana, Shooqa writers, Chobdars and gardeners, etc. Offices were sold to the highest bidder. The post of the Captain[23] of the Boys' Battalion was sold for Rs. 2,200, while Jankee Das was appointed Mukthiar of Begum Taj Mahal on payment of two thousand rupees. Every officer had to present a nazar on evarious festivals and on very occasion the king passed by his house.

Judicial System:

The king was the head of the Judiciary. All the cases were sent to him for final judgment[24], though Kotwal, Qazee and Mooftee used to assist him. He was a lover of justice. He used to make personal enquiries into everything and favoured compromises. Some of the Sulateens had also started filing suits in the Civil Court of the city, but it was considered very undesirable. Even princes of the royal blood were severely punished and were not spared on any account. Mirza Mohummud Baksh[25] who had flogged his syce Anoo, was confined in jail and also was fined heavily. Mirza Jawan Bakht, the favourite son of the king in old age, was also punished. He had injured the leg of a passer-by ; his gun was snatched and he was ordered to remain at home till the afternoon. Gamblers were very severely punished. They were confined to jail and were fined heavily. Wine-drinking was also forbidden. Thieves were dealt with sever punishment. Every house where there was the least suspicion of the stolen property was thoroughly searched. If any evil-minded man managed to slip into the fort, he was turned out of the fort. Thus it was quite clear that the discipline in the fort was quite severe and all kinds of criminals were severely punished.

Crimes:

Gambling, theft, wine-drinking, setting the houses on fire, abduction and enticing away of women,[26] forgery, corruption, embezzlement of money, beating of the servants, suicide[27] and interfering in the privacy of others were some of the crimes of those days.

II. Social Conditions

Marriage and Divorce:

Most of the princes used to keep concubines and slave girls. Some of the slave girls[28] were released from bondage and were allwed to

23. 5 June 1852.
24. 20 January 1852.
25. 24 August 1851.
26. 1 July 1851.
27. 31 July 1851.
28. 3 June 1851.

marry whomsoever they liked. Mostly the princes used to marry among their own families and the dowar[29] was usually fixed at 5 lakhs of rupees. Divorce was discouraged. Once a great hue and cry was raised on one divorce and all the police and military of the king was called for controlling the mob. On another occasion, a person who had turned out his wife was turned[30] out of the Palace. Widow remarriage was encouraged.

Diet and Dress:

The inmates of the Palace used to make a great use of spices.[31] Four boxes of which were sent every month by the British Government from Calcutta. Wine-drinking was prohibited in the Palace, but a number of them used to stealthily bring wine into the fort. Fish, Meat, Deer, Pigeons, and Rabbits were generally consumed. Goats and camels were sacrificed on Eed. Sweetmeats were distributed on the festivals. The king was fond of mangoes and oranges. Wells were the main source of drinking water. Various persons used to make search for sweet[33] water. Ice was used in summer.

Some of the Princesses used to wear jewels[34], gold ornaments, and rich clothes. But the ladies observed pardah.

Every prince had to present a nazar on the occasion of his marriage, circumcision, departure from fort for Mecca, Lucknow, Ajmer and other places. The king also used to give monetary aid on such occasions.

Alligators were a great source of nuisance and they used to devour human[35] beings. Therefore special measures had to be adopted for catching them.

Amusements:

Hunting was a popular hobby of the princes. Nujufgurh Jheel,[36] the other bank of the Jumna and gardens around Qutab were popular hunting areas. Dancing (Natuch) and singing were also very common on festive occasions. Bull[37]fights, bufallo-fights, Ram-fights, dogs worrying jackals, cock-fighting, flight of the pigeons and wrestling-matches were

29. 16 October 1851.
30. 23 April 1851.
31. 20 November 1851.
32. 8 November 1851.
33. 15 April 1851.
34. 19 March 1852.
35. 12 May 1851.
36. *Ibid,*
37. 4 October 1851.

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popular pastimes. The game of Chess[38] was also popular. Kite matches were a great source of pleasure to all. Hunting of hares was also a hobby of some of the princes. Some of the youth used to practice archery. Most of the princes spent some months of the year at Qutub.

Medical Facilities:

Hukeem Ahsanoollah Khan, Hukeem Emamooddeen and Hukeem Najaf Khan were the popular Hukeems of the day. Allopathic doctors (like Drs. Ross and Chimman) trained in Western medical science were consulted. The doctors used to charge very heavy fees. (One gold Mohur[39] per visit). There was a dispensary[40] in the Palace for medical aid to the inhabitants of the Fort.

III. Cultural Life

The king was a great lover of art and architecture. Zauq and Ghalib were greatly honoured by him. They were paid regular stipends.[41] The king himself was a good poet and used to recite verses of his own composition in the Court. A collection of his poems had been published. The heir apparent also composed verses. Mushairas or symposiums were often held. There was a royal library[42] in the fort. Some of the princes were good scholars. History of the World, history of England, history of the Pirs and history of the Mughal dynasty were written in Urdu. Portrait painters used to paint quite beautifully. Painter Gholam[43] Ali was the best of all painters. Painter Gholam Ali and Muhboob the singer were the favourites of the Court.

IV. Religious Life

Festivals:

Both Ids, Muharam,[44] Bara Wafat and Akhree Chhar Shamba were the important Muslim festivals. Nowroz, Punkha ka Mela (Procession of the Fans[45]), king's birthday and Ghusul-i-Sehat[46] were the special festivals of the Palace. Hindu festivals were celebrated by the Muslim king in a peculiar manner. On Sulona[47] Raja Bholanath fastened Rakhee on His Majesty's wrist. On Dusserah His Majesty

38. 16 May 1851.
39. 11 October 1851.
40. 12 January 1852.
41. 19 April 1852.
42. 10 November 1851.
43. 24 October 1851.
44. 8 November 1851.
45. 28 August 1851.
46. 29 February 1852.
47. 11 August 1851.

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conferred the customary khilluts on his Hindu servants. On Diwali the king was weighed against seven kinds of grain. On Holee[48], His Majesty bathed himself in the water of seven wells.

Religion of the king :

Bahadur Shah was not an orthodox Musulman. He had kept a number of Hindu servants (Zoorawar Chand and Mukanda Lla) and treated them equally. In fact he followed a policy of religious toleration. Dr. Chimman Lal became a Christian. His action was bitterly criticized by some of the inhabitants of Delhi, but Bahadur Shah rebuked the critics.[49] He also believed in astrology. Sookhanand[50] and Bismillah Beg were the chief astrologers of his court. He used to distribute alms on the occasions of the eclipses. Bahadur Shah II had a great respect for the Pirs. Kaleh Sahib was his chief priest. The King also honoured saints of the past ages. He used to pay homage to the Durgah of Qutub Sahib, Nizamood Deen, Shrine of Shah Murdan, tombs of his ancestors at Qutub and other places. He had also started making his own followers.[51] Like a true Muslim, he had also made up his mind to go to Mecca,[52] but with very great difficulty he was dissuaded by the British Government to give up his intention. Hindus visited various sacred shrines like Poore and brought Ganges water from the river Ganges.

V. Economic Conditions of the Inhabitants of the Fort

Things were very cheap in those days. A very good horse could be obtained for 200 rupees. Even elephants[53] could be purchased for 250 rupees. Elephants used to have silver howdahs.

The main source of income of the princes was the pension given by the East India Company. Out of the pension given to the king, he used to allot a monthly allowance to various princes according to their relations with the king.

Some of the princes and princesses (like Taj Mahal Begum) were extravagant and had to borrow money and were under perpetual debt. Banias used to charge very heavy rate of interest.[54]

48. 6 March 1852.
49. 18 July 1852 ; also referred by Dr. Spears in *Twilight of the Mughuls.*
50. 20 April 1851.
51. 7 October 1851.
52. 2 December 1851.
53. 2 December 1851.
54. 20 October 1851.

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The means of communications and transport were not good. A visit to Mecca took two years in those days. Carriages and Raths driven by horses were in common use. Elephants and camels were also used as a means of conveyance. The wooden bridge over Jumna was not in a good condition. Once the planks of the bridge of boats gave way and Muhboob Ali Khan and his elephant were severely injured. There was the Rahdaree system and nobody could go out of the fort without the pass.[55] At night the Gates of Delhi city were closed. The Gates of the Fort were likewise closed and commandant of the Palace Guards had to be intimated about the coming back of any party at night.

Thus this document is a mine of information for the study of contemporary life of Delhi in all spheres like political, social, cultural, religious and economic. It is also the most authentic and reliable source of information for this period of the history of Delhi. Every week's diary bears the signature of the Resident of Delhi.

55. 19 January 1851.

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DALHOUSIE AND THE REFORM OF THE POSTAL SYSTEM

Dr. M. N. Das

Modern postal system was instituted in India during the administration of Lord Dalhousie. The object of this paper is to show, as gathered from the Dalhousie papers preserved in Scottish Record Office at Edinburgh, and official records available in Commonwealth Relations Office at London, how and under what circumstances Lord Dalhousie effected reform in the existing system of postal communication and gave to India the benefits of a uniform half anna postage.

As early as 1766, Lord Clive had introduced into the British conquered territories a type of postal system to carry government letters. This system, more or less, was improved by Warren Hastings and the posts were opened for private communications. But these early arrangements made by the British Government cannot be regarded as a general postal system for the country. From the time of Clive to that of Bentinck, the post office was not regarded as a department of public utility. At several places in the country people maintained private organisations to carry letters. Though some such private systems were quite well organised, yet their scope was very much limited. Cost of sending letters through them was high, and everything else was uncertain and full of risks. It was during the time of Lord William Bentinck that any serious attention was given by the Government to the question of improving postal communication. As a result of this, under Bentinck's successor, the post office Act was passed in 1837. This Act aimed at establishing a general postal system for the whole country. But the Act was full of defects. It could not think of introducing stamps, and so postage was paid in cash. No central authority was instituted to control the system and therefore local arrangements continued in different areas. A uniformity was not suggested and so the rates varied according to weight and distance. The Act was far from being satisfactory and caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the people. It allowed the system of franking to continue, and also did not abolish bearing. It was therefore pointed out in some quarters that the Act was not only inconvenient to the Postal Department itself, but was in many respects an 'unmitigated nuisance' to the public.[1]

1. *Friend of India* (to be abbreviated as *FI*), 22 June 1848.

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Between 1837 and 1840, Sir Rowland Hill, the inventor of the penny postage in England, brought about far-reaching changes in the postal system of that country. Cheap postage, uniform rate regardless of distance and similar improvements changed the British postal system into what it is in modern times and opened immense possibilities for increase of income for government and convenience to common men. The success of the Hill system in England did not influence the Indian Government or the Home authorities to think of a similar system for India, and for nearly ten years more the post office in this country continued to work in the same defective and inconvenient manner as before. During this period, the poorest man in England, got advantage of communication with anyone in the remotest part of his country only at the cost of a penny, whereas, in India benefit of communication was far beyond the reach of even the well-to-do. Competent authorities like Captain N. Staples while making observations on the Indian Post Office before 1850 saw the charges on letters as 'most oppressive'.[2] The government had given the responsibility of carrying dak to contractors who had their own way of doing things. In areas where roads were not safe, the contractors were in a position to bargain with the people. Even in the most developed part of India, from Calcutta to Benares connected by the Grand Trunk Road, the condition of postal communication was in a deplorable condition. On this line also the government left the conveyance of mails to the contractors whose 'neglect and mismanagement' made the system ridiculous. After several contract systems had worked on the line between 1839 and 1845, W. Tayler, the officiating postmaster general, declared them as 'miserable failures' and proposed their abolition.[3]

While everywhere in India the conveyance of mails remained in an uncertain condition, corruption in the department made the things worse. The Postmaster-General of the North-West Provinces, under whose jurisdiction the line from Benares to Calcutta worked, complained in 1843 that the 'clerks being virtually uncontrolled in collecting postage and rendering accounts of it cannot be made checks on themselves. None but persons identified with them in interest and feeling know how much money they receive or whether the amount of it is truly recorded in the books of the office.'[4] Such corruption could come in because the system of cash payment for letters was maintained instead of payment through stamps. Five years later, the successor of the above postmaster general, H. B. Riddell, complained in still more clear terms that 'the most simple and perfect protection against embezzlement of

2. N. Staples, *Observations on the Indian Post Office* (1850), p. 2.

3. *India Home Consultations* (to be abbreviated as *IHC*), 187, vol. 81, *vide* Report of J. P. Grant, 4 September 1850.

4. *IHC*, 187, vol. 42, *vide* note from Postmaster-General of *NWP*, 14 October 1848.

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the post office collections and also as a great boon to the public I would urge the adoption of a low uniform rate of postage prepared by stamps.'[5] Riddell began to advocate that the government should prohibit the receipt of cash at all post offices.

The cash payment for letters tempted the postal clerks to irregularity and fraud and led the entire department, so it was said, to great inefficiency and untrustworthiness.[6] Innumerable letters, duly paid for, never reached the addressees. Bhanghy parcels, too, suffered same consequences. Such abuses became apparent to many administrators who at all thought of the postal communication in India. In 1845-46, Sir Herbert Maddock, the Deputy Governor of Bengal, thought of a radical improvement in the system, and it was said that he ' resolved to render his administration memorable by a Reform in the Post Office, exceeding the most sanguine expectations of the public.' A plan for establishing an anna post, corresponding with the penny post in England, was drawn up and publicly announced in India, and duly transmitted to the Court of Directors in England. It involved an immediate risk of loss to the exchequer. The Court of Directors refused to concur in so wild and costly a proposition.[7]

Lord Dalhousie landed in India in 1848. He had seen the working of the Hill system in England and was fully aware of the benefit it did to the people. Shortly after his arrival in India, James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, drew the attention of the Governor-General to the grave abuses of the postal system. Thomason, after much consideration, was himself convinced that ' the substitution of stamps for money payments is the only effectual and practical check on the admitted irregularities to the present system.'[8] He thought it desirable to have a preliminary experiment with a system of uniform postage at Lucknow and asked for Dalhousie's opinion on the proposed trial.

The Governor-General at that time was conducting the Sikh War from his camp near Umballa. From there he informed Thomason on 11 December 1848, ' Personally I am favourable to a system of uniform postage rate, ' and agreed on the advantage of Lucknow being the scene of first trial.[9]

5. *Ibid.*

6. Allen, *Indian Mail*, 2 February 1848.

7. *FI*, 14 March 1850.

8. *IHC*, 187, vol. 42, *vide* Letter from Secretary to Government of NWP, 28 October 1848.

9. *Dalhousie Papers* (to be abbreviated as *DP*), Miscellaneous Letters to Persons in India and Europe, vol. I, Dalhousie to Thomason, 11 December 1848.

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The interest of the Governor-General in postal affairs created hope in the mind of interested perons. In March 1849 R. N. C. Hamilton, the resident at Indore, sent a scheme for postal reform for the consideration of Dalhousie. He said, 'Although it may not be expedient at present to reduce the postage levied upon letters sent through the Government Post Offices, still I trust it will be considered desirable to secure to the Government the whole of the payments on account of postage made by the public, and to prevent the revenue being defrauded. These results can only be attained by the adoption of Post office stamps of one, two, four and eight annas value, and by abolishing all cash receipts for letters at any post office.'[10] Various other suggestions were placed before the Governor-General. Newspapers, too, created an opinion in the country and clamoured for reform.

The real difficulty arising out of a defective and ill-organised postal system was felt by the Governor-General after the annexation of the Punjab. The British Empire had reached its final frontier in the North-West. In that quarter of the sub-continent there was no system regarding the dak. Immediately after the conquest the same method which prevailed in other parts of the country was extended into the Punjab, but a good deal of inconvenience was felt from its working. As Dalhousie himself said, 'Nothing can be worse than the condition of the Post office on the frontier,' and he, in his words, 'made it the subject of notice and complaint to the Lieutenant-Governor (Thomason).'[11] Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the administrators in charge of the Punjab, asked for some immediate remedy, and Dalhousie replied to him from Simla in May 1849, 'I should fear that it is not likely to be improved in the new country beyound, unless the screw is put on.' But the Governor-General called for a definite plan for the Punjab, and prepared to discuss the subject with Thomason and the Post Master General, Riddell, both of whom were then at Simla with him.[12]

It was in the Punjab that the first experiment was made on a reduced postage and an efficient government control. The proposal for 'a dimunition of the rate of postage in the new Territory' came from Riddell, and Dalhousie, after well considering it, gave his assent. He issued a minute on the Post office in the Punjab on 12 June 1849. 'Having regard to the peculiar circumstances under which the correspondence is at present carried on with distant stations in the Punjab, I think it reasonable that a reduced rate of postage should be demanded

10. *IHC*, 187, vol. 42, R. N. C. Hamilton to Secretary with Governor-General, 18 March 1849.
11. *DP*, Letters to Lahore, vol. I, Dalhousie to Henry Lawrence, 9 May 1849.
12. *Ibid.*

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by the Government,' said the Governor-General.[13] He approved of Riddell's estimate of the expenses of the establishment in that new territory.

While the experiment was being carried on in the Punjab, elsewhere in India and especially in the south, conditions remained bad. Private contractors who were in charge of carrying daks faced grave dangers. Their ' stables would be burnt, grass ricks fired, riders occasionally beaten and grain depots plundered.'[14] The government gave them no protection, and the public had no faith in them. The dissatisfaction regarding delays, insecurity, and irregularities of the post office became almost universal. Dalhousie saw that too much was expected by those who advocated in favour of an entire change of the system. But he said, ' Without carrying change to an extreme and without undue sacrifice of present income, the system is, in my humble opinion, capable of such improvement as would very greatly add to its speed, its economy and certainty.'[15]

By March 1850 Dalhousie had recommended for an experiment on electric telegraph. Almost simultaneously, he took decision to reform the post. He thought of a ' uniform low rate of postage which has for one time been established in England ' or some other system ' which shall approximate to the English system as closely as the different condition and circumstances of the two countries will allow,' and wanted to make the system applicable to the whole of the British territories in India.

With this motive the Governor-General issued his minute on the post office reform on 15 April 1850. He declared, ' The inferiority of the postal system in India and the unsatisfactory manner in which that department of the public service is found to work in every Presidency, has long been made a subject of complaint by the community, and the justice of their complaints has not been and cannot be, denied by the Government. "[16] As an effective step towards the intended reform, Dalhousie decided to appoint a Commission to examine into the post office system, and to report to the government upon the various defects, and finally to suggest the remedies which might appear to the commissioners to be feasible. He appointed three commissioners for the three presidencies, Cecil Beadon for Bengal, H. Forbes for Madras and W. Courtney for Bombay.

13. *DP*, Governor-General's Minutes, vol. II, 12 June 1849.
14. *IHC*, 187, vol. 80, Memorandum by Capt. Hart, July, 1849.
15. *DP*, Governor-General's Minutes, vol. IV, 15 April 1850.
16. *Ibid.*

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Dalhousie's intention was not merely to imitate the British system, but to derive examples from some other European countries where the modern systems were at work. He called for documentary and other informations regarding postal reform in the Western nations.[17] . His experiment drew the attention of Sir Rowland Hill himself who sent a number of pamphlets on the subject with explanations.

The enquiry began simultaneously in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Cecil Beadon also included North-West Provinces in his jurisdiction at the request of Thomason. The commissioners carried thorough and elaborate investigation. They examined all schemes submitted previously; they took evidence from experienced persons; they called for opinion from post masters in all presidencies; numerous private persons were consulted and examined; persons of different shades and status, all spoke before the commissioners.[18] All who appeared for evidence, beginning from an expert to a lay man, pleaded in favour of a low uniform postage.

The Commissioners divided their subject into eight heads: Postage on letters, Postage on Newspapers, Postage stamps, Prepayment, Franking, General Management, the Bhangy, and District Daks. About the first item, they advocated uniformity of postage, without reference to distance, combined with a low rate of charge. 'It makes the post office what underany other system it can never be, the unrestricted means of diffusing knowledge, extending commerce, and promoting in every way the social and intellectual improvement of the people,' said the commissioners.[19] About postage on newspapers the commissioners with their own arguments did not recommened any reduction in rates. About stamps and prepayment they advocated that the most perfect system of post office management, and the safest both for the public and the department, would be the compulsory pre-payment of all letters by means of stamps. They argued that the privilege of franking was abused, and therefore limited it to a small circle. On the question of general management, they recommended the constitution of the post office throughout India as a distinct department supervisied by an officer styled the Director-Genral of the Post Office of India, under the immediate control of the Government. The commissioners simplified existing scales of charge on bhanghy parcels and recommended for improvement of district daks. Their report covered 125 foolscap pages, and the appendices made about four times as much. On 1 May 1851, they submitted it before F. J. Halliday, Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department.

17. *DP*, Miscellaneous letters to various persons in India, vol. II, Dalhousie to Beadon, 8 June 1850.
18. *Report of Commissioners for P.O. Enquiry*, 1851, para 35-56.
19. *Ibid.*, para 84.

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Dalhousie was anxiously waiting at Simla to get the report. A little delay made him to write to Halliday on 16 July, 'You are quite mistaken. I am very anxious to deal with the Post Office Report before I come to Calcutta, so as if possible to get some reply from the Court to whom it must go, before I leave India. So do not let them sit upon it till they addle it in Calcutta.'[20] At this time he seriously thought of leaving India and wanted to finalise the matter before his expected departure.

Report of the commissioners raised high hope among people, but there was an apprehension that the Government might not accept the recommedation for a half anna rate which meant an immediate loss of revenue to the extent of nine lakhs of rupees. But to the surprise of all, Dalhousie boldly came forward to run the risk of loss and requested the Court of Directors for permission to introduce a uniform rate of half an anna on everylletter for whatever distance it might be conveyed. To him, if it were wise in England to remove every obstacle to free communication between man and man, wisdom dictated the same liberality in legislation in India.[21] The Governor-General even went further than the commissioners in his recommendations. About newspapers, the commissioners had said that 'at all events not less than two annas be charged on every copy of a certain weight.' Dalhousie rejected this view, and knowing that circulation of newspapers did immense good to India, he recommended a uniform rate of one anna for each copy as the proper charge. On administrative aspect he decided to constitute post office throughout all India into one department under orders of Supreme Government. On its financial aspect he tried to convince the Court that the immediate loss of about nine lakhs of rupees would be made good of by a natural increase of correspondence. His enthusiasm was so great as to lead him to say, 'If I were vested with authority so to do I should at once carry into effect the recommendations of the commissioners notwithstanding the responsibility which such an act would involve.'[22] He noted in his diary: "I advised the Court to sanction the cheap and uniform rate of postage, including also newspapers, which the Commissioners had excluded; and to permit me to remodel the system as has been suggested. I am firm in my conviction that no ultimate loss of the present revenue would be incurred, while an immeasurable boon would be conferred upon the community in all its interests, social, literary, commercial and political.'[23]

The Court of Directors was neither unaware of the inefficient state of the post office department in India, nor of the complaint for many

20. *DP*, Letters to Presidency, vol. II, Dalhousie to Halliday, 16 July 1851.
21. *DP*, Governor-General's Minutes, vol. IX, 30 December 1851.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Dalhousie's Diary*, 1852, pt. I, 13 January 1852.

years, and therefore, thanked Dalhousie for his initiative for reform, but delayed nearly a year to give its decision; and while giving decision it accepted the principle of uniform rate of half an anna for a single letter and certain other recommendations of the Governor-General, but did not agree to reduce the charges on newspapers, and to appoint a Director-General for the whole of India. Dalhousie was sorry for the plight of the journalists and editors, and could not understand how to organise a new all India department without a Director-General for the whole country. He complained to the President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood, 'The Court objects to a Director-General of Posts who shall not be controlled by Madras and Bombay, on the ground that it is different from other departments. But the post office is different from other departments and requires a different machinery. I assure you truly that unless there be one uniform power, at least to introduce the system, it cannot be done. I pray you, therefore, to interfere and to force the Court to let us have what England and America have equally found to be indispensable. At least let us have it for a time.'[24]

For nearly two years the Governor-General had to fight to win his points. On some points the Directors were, according to Sir Charles Wood, 'very obstinate.'[25] Finally, however, they gave consent to the appointment of a Director-General and granted cheap uniform rate for newspapers. Proudly did Dalhousie note in his Diary, 'On the 1st October (1854), after infinite trouble and delay the new Postal System—the uniform rate of postage—was brought into operation throughout India', (Diary, 1854); and proudly proclaimed to Queen Victoria,

> 'Foremost among the measures of internal improvement which the year has produced is the Reform of the Postal System. The change has long been in preparation; but it was not until three days ago that the principle of cheap and uniform postage, which has been so successfully tried in England, was introduced into the Indian Empire. The measure has been applied to all India; and although it must involve some present loss of revenue to the Government, it will be productive of many immediate advantages to the people, and will ultimately reproduce the revenue lost.'[26]

24. *DP*, Letters to Board of Control, Dalhousie to Wood, 5 May 1853.
25. *Wood Papers*, Letter Book, vol. IV, f. 96, Wood to Dalhousie, 24 January 1854.
26. *DP*, No. 897, Letter to Queen Victoria, 4 October 1854.

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BULANDSHAHR IN 1857 RISING

SHRI PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE

H. S. CUNNINGHAM has rightly included Bulandshahr among the important and 'great stations of the North-West Provinces' that were affected by the 1857 Rising.[1] Situated in between Delhi and Rohilkhand, bound on the south by Khurja and Aligarh, on the north-west by Delhi, and on the north-east by Rohilkhand, it was almost in the centre of one of the most affected areas. It is, therefore, rather unfortunate that there should be no mention of it in the worthy book of Dr. R. C. Majumdar and only one slight mention of Bulandshahr in the worthy book of Dr. S. N. Sen. The place is also important as it is inhabited by the Jat people who are noted for their bravery and pluck. And finally, one Wulleedad Khan, a near relation of the Emperor belonged to this place and played quite an important role in the 1857 Rising at this place and the near about districts. It is also unfortunate that even in the records of the National Archives there is very limited information to be found on this district. Some information is, of course, to be had from the Meerut Division Narrative. But that is also very scanty. Thus, we have very limited information on this district,—whether in books, or in the official records.

The importance of Bulandshahr was early realised by the Lieutenant-Governor Mr. Colvin who telegraphed to Brigadier Wilson on the 15th May, "if the mutineers leave Delhi in force, it is plain that no wing of a corps, or even a single corps, could stay their march. Therefore a move in strength to Bolundshuhur seems to be the right one." He was right. For the sepoys, if they left Delhi, would surely make a move in a southward direction, and one of the closest stations from where a break through in the south could be prevented was Bulandshahr. But the Brigadier differed from Mr. Colvin, and replied, that a move from Meerut would not be wise, and that he thought that a better and definitely wiser course was to attack Delhi.[2] Thus, Bulandshahr, which was on the brink of becoming one of the most decisive centres in the 1857

1. H. S. Cunningham, *Earl Canning*, p. 100.
2. J. W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War*, vol. II, p. 180.

Rising was denied that glory. But it must be said that the decision of the Brigadier was wise. Also we should not forget that there was really no difference of opinion between him and Mr. Colvin on the importance of Bulandshahr. Only, Mr. Colvin from a distance thought that a break through of the Delhi sepoys was imminent, whereas Brigadier Wilson, who was on the spot knew better that there was no such possibility and as such he was right to hold that there was no question of leaving Delhi, and as such the contingency of strengthening Bulandshahr as a second line of defence did not arise.

On the 20th May, 1857 Rising on a large-scale broke out in Aligarh, and following that there were many Risings in the bordering districts. On the 20th May, 1857, the 9th Regiment at Bulandshahr looted the Treasury and went off. That is the reason why Colonel Malleson calls it a "no violence" "outbreak."[3]

But, it is plain that all was not well or quiet at Bulandshahr; for Major-General Hewitt wrote to the Secretary to the Government of India on the 26th May, 1857: "All Dak communication downwards having been stopped, and telegraphic wire cut by the insurgents at Bulandshahr and Allygurh, I have been unable to keep the Governor-General, as requested, informed of the state of affairs in this district."[4] Again further ahead in the same letter he gives the important information: "but as Bulandshahr is now occupied by the Sirmoor Battalions, with 200 of the Rampore horse,...I trust our communication is by this time restored."[5] So, it is clear that in the period from the 20th to the 26th May, 1857 wide-spread disturbances had taken place in Bulandshahr in which among other things the revolutionaries had cut-off the telegraphic wires to disrupt the speedy transmission of news of their opponents. A similar account, so far as the Sirmur Battalion is concerned is to be found in Kaye's book. Kaye informs us that about 500 soldiers of the Sirmur Battalion under Major Charles Reid occupied this station and left it for Delhi on the 1st of June, 1857.[6]

It is plain, therefore, that about the 26th May these forces had been brought here to establish order at this important station. But it is also equally plain that after the Sirmur Gurkhas left Bulandshahr on the 1st June, 1857 at once the station was lost to the British. This is plain from the official records preserved at the National Archives at New Delhi. The records mentioning one Wulleedad Khan, Nawab of

3. G. B. Malleson, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. I, p. 8.
4. *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 80, 17, pp. C. 2264. P. 19. Inclosure No. 17. Letter of Major-General Hewitt to the Secretary to the Government of India. Meerut, 26 May 1857.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Kaye, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 187.

Malagarh note : " This notorious rebel had a strong mud fort at Malagarh about 4 miles from Bulandshahr. He was a near relation of the ex-King of Delhi with whom he was staying when the outbreak occurred, but returned to Malagarh about the 26th May, deputed by the ex-King as ' Soobah ' of the provinces of Bulandshahr and Aligarh (which fact he himself admitted to Mr. Sapte, the magistrate of Bulandshahr, but excused himself by saying unless he had come out under some such pretence, he would not have been able to escape from Delhi where he had been detained an unwilling guest of the king). About the 10th June he took possession of the station of Bulandshahr, ' in the name of the British Government ' but when the Magistrate in company with Captain Tyrwhitt approached the station the next morning, the rebels opened their guns upon them. From this moment Wulleedad Khan's rebellion became unbounded. His followers spread over the Aligarh, Bulandshahr, and Meerut Districts and many fanatic Mussulmans flocked to his standard.'[7] Thus, his story about coming under a ' pretence ' from out of the clutches of Bahadur Shah at Delhi was all mere concoction, and in his true colours he was a rebel, who, whether he represented Bahadur Shah or not, gave out that he did, and was patently hostile to the British Administration. He had a Fort (even though a mud Fort), and his operations were spread over three districts, which is significant. The fact of his being a near relation of Bahadur Shah was of great help to him in organising the resistance against the British authorities and in paralysing the Government in the district.

At about the same time (exact date not mentioned in the records), his General Ishmael Khan " Attacked the village of Burthona in the Boolandshahr District and was wounded and repulsed by the gallant Jats of that place."[8] This is a rare example where a Muslim General rising against the British rulers was opposed and repulsed by the Hindus. But such instances are rare and as we have seen even English authorities had to admit that in 1857 they could not make the Hindus and the Muslims fight against each other.

It seems that from the beginning of June 1857 upto the end of September, 1857 the town and district of Bulandshahr was lost to the British. On the 24th September Lt.-Colonel Edward Greathed of the 8th Foot marched on Bulandshahr reaching there on the 28th September by way of Hindan with 2790 men (930 Europeans and 1860 Indians). On the 26th he destroyed Dadri as its Gujar inhabitants had looted Sikandrabad. On the 27th he reached Sikandrabad. On the 28th

7. *Foreign Department, Miscellaneous Records,* from Nos. 888, No. 19. Also *Meerut Division Narrative,* paras 246, 258, 269, 295-303, 318-322, 361, 362, 370-386.

8. *Foreign Department, Miscellaneous Records,* from Nos.888, No. 20. Also *Meerut Division Narrative,* paras 302 and 372.

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September the sepoys occupied in force a position in front of the town "where two roads leading to it converge."[9] At the same time on the same day Alfred Lyall (afterwards Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., Lt.-Governor of the North-West Provinces and a Member of the India Council) was appointed the Assistant Magistrate of Bulandshahr. Lord Roberts and Norman reached Bulandshahr from Delhi. The sepoys had occupied a strong fortified place which was a walled Serai at the entrance of the town. Greathed set against them four guns of Remington's troops; Bourchier's Battery; and squadrons of the 9th Lancers and of the 5th Punjab Cavalry. Parts of the 2nd Punjab Infantry were pushed through the gardens and houses of the civil station. Remington's guns opened fire on the Serai. Bourchier's troops proceeded on the flanks of the sepoys. They at once yielded and broke up. The 75th Foot dashed against them and captured two 9-pounders. They retreated and were followed by the Cavalry of Drysdale (afterwards General Sir William Drysdale, K.C.B.) of the 9th Lancers. Major Ouvry's Cavalry and Cracklow's guns circled round to the left in spite of severe firing by the sepoys from the Serai. With "heavy loss" to the English the sepoys were completely broken up and defeated. A small group of sepoys even then ventured to attack the English "baggage." Major Turner and Lieutenant Probyn defeated this attack. Augustus Anson got the V.C. for gallantry on this occasion. The English loss amounted to 6 men killed, 6 officers and 85 men wounded, whereas the sepoys lost 800 men.

In the meantime after awaiting the results of this action in all probability, Walidad Khan deserted the Fort of Malagarh, on the same day. Lt. Homes was killed by an explosion in demolishing this fort. It was found that Walidad Khan was planning the manufacture of guns at this place.

The English had to wait for four days here for want of conveyance from Meerut to take the wounded. Mr. Alfred Lyall was left in charge of Bulandshahr to re-establish the British authority. But as the neighbouring district of Rohilkhand to the east remained in the hands of the revolutionaries till the next Spring occasional incursions into the Bulandshahr district continued till the pacification of Rohilkhand. Dr. S. N. Sen is right to point out that "The fall of Delhi had enabled Brigadier Wilson to send out two columns, one of which under the command of Colonel Greathed proceeded to Agra *via* Bulandshahr and Aligarh."[10] Thus in the two different view-points of Mr. Colvin and of Brigadier Wilson whether as early as the 15th of May, 1857 Bulandshahr should have been organised as a strong second line of defence, and in which,

9. Malleson, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 88-90.
10. S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fiftyseven*, p. 226.

as we have already seen, Brigadier Wilson strongly held the view that instead of organising Bulandshahr as a stronghold a vigorous offensive should be launched in Delhi,—we find that the Brigadier was right. The real British offensive on Bulandshahr was launched on the 28th September, 1857 after and not before the reconquest of Delhi on the 20th September, 1857. The Brigadier succeeded in preventing a break-through of the Delhi sepoys and thus proved the fears of Mr. Colvin to be baseless. And it must be said in all fairness to the political acumen and military sense of the Brigadier that the political, military, and moral advantages of holding Delhi were far greater than any that could arise by holding Bulandshahr to the loss of Delhi. Once again it must be stressed that neither Mr. Colvin underrated the importance of Delhi nor did the Brigadier underrate the importance of Bulandshahr.

Once again Bulandshahr figures for a while, almost a last flicker, when an invasion of the Doab and of Bulandshahr by Tej Singh (The Raja of Mainpuri) was feared. The British authorities took all possible steps to prevent his invasion, and General Penny moved from Bulandshahr to join Sir Colins in his operations at Rohilkhand, for it was thought that offensive was the best defence for Bulandshahr.[11] Thus, with the pacification of Rohilkhand the pacification of Bulandshahr was assured from May 1858. In passing it must be remarked that the conduct of Walidad Khan, as a relation of the Emperor, cannot be justified. He claimed to be representing the Emperor, made a Fort, offered resistance to the British and even planned the manufacture of guns. At the same time he was extremely vacillating, and a cowardly man who could tell the English authorities that in order to be allowed to escape from Delhi he had to accept the administration of the districts of Bulandshahr and Aligarh, and finally on the approach of the English he ran away almost without offering a fight on the 28th September.

11. Malleson, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 501.

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THE CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT OF 1857

PROF. D. TRIPATHI

"DIRECTLY a man assumes the moral attitude of an historian," declared Polybius, " he ought to forget all considerations, such as love of one's friends, hatred of one's enemies." Unfortunately such a dispassionate and impartial attitude expected of an historian have seldom been adopted in the study of the Indian movement of 1857. The majority of the British historians has held the view that it was a simple movement of the Sepoys, probably because such a view is in keeping with their National and Inter-national interests. On the other hand, after the publication of Savarkar's Book " History of the War of Independence," Indian historians are inclined to believe that the aim of the movement was to liberate the country from foreign yoke. The result of this National approach to history has been an unconscious or conscious distortion of facts.

In order to determine the real character of the movement of 1857, it is desirable to be clear about its real causes. Most of the Indian writers have emphasized that the revolt was the result of deep-rooted discontent among the people. Let us see whether such an opinion stands the test of logic.

The movement, as is well-known, began at Meerut with the revolt of a section of the sepoys. In those days it was not something new, earlier also the sepoys had stood against their British Officers on more than one occasion. Two of such revolts in the 19th century stand out prominent. In 1806 the sepoys at Vellore had mutinied because of certain army regulations which interfered with their religious customs. Their old turban was to be replaced by one with a leather cockade, and who knew the origin of the leather? It might be the the skin of pig or cow which the Muslim and Hindu Sepoys would touch at the risk of losing their caste. It was this consideration that drove them to mutiny. It is to be noted in this connection that after the withdrawal of the objectionable regulations, Vellore became as calm as if nothing had happened.

Just 18 years after, troubles again broke out on the Eastern Borders. As the result of the outbreak of Second Burma War in 1824 the Indian

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Soldiers had to be sent to Burma to fight for the British. They had no objection to March through Assam and Arakan and travel over land to Burma but the Hindu would not make a sea voyage as it was contrary to his age-long customs. As necessary transport for journey through land could not be arranged, the Bengal army was ordered to march to Chittagong. But the sepoys suspected that once at Chittagong, they would have to embark. As the sepoys placed religion above discipline they refused to move. This was the prelude to the famous Barrakpur Mutiny.

The immediate cause of the outbreak of 1857 mutiny was also a religious one. Rightly or wrongly the sepoys had come under the spell of this belief that the East India Company aimed at their conversion. As is well-known, this was the time when Enfield Rifles had been introduced in which cartridges greezed with animal fat were used. It was the general impression among the Indian Soldiers that, in these cartridges, fat of cow and pig was used and, of course, such an object was obnoxious to both Hindu and Muslim. There is no denying the fact that the sepoys were not well enough disposed towards the Government because of several factors, *viz.*, frequent engagements in prolonged campaigns in distant lands without any extra-allowance, disparity of emoluments between Indian and British Soldiers, bad behaviour of British Officers with the native sepoys etc. But it is doubtful that the Indian Soldier would bring to his aid the ultimate weapon of violence for the redress of these grievances; probably we cannot credit him with such a high degree of consciousness. But religion held such a prominent place in the Indian life of the 19th Century that they could sacrifice all their interests at its altar. Today due to the spirit of Western education, the caste rules have become so unimportant that we cannot even imagine the rigidity with which they were enforced in the 19th Century. The following account may give an idea of the condition in those days.

At the time of 1st Afghan War, one Sitaram had been sent to fight on the Afghan Soil. He writes, " Great fears were felt by he sepoys at the idea of having to go across the Indus.....because it was out of Hindusthan. This is forbidden in our religion: the very act is loss of caste. In consequence of this, many sepoys obtained their discharge and many deserted."[1] After the Kabul disaster Sitaram fell into enemy hands and when long after he could come back to India, he received a very cruel treatment at the hands of his brethern in service. " I went to the lines of one of the regiments, but when I informed the sepoys as to who I was, they all declared, I was unclean and defiled.....I was treated by the Brahmins as an outcaste.....but as I had no money I

1. S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-seven.*, p. 6.

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could not regain my caste just then."[2] On reaching home he received no better treatment until " my father paid for my regaining my caste."[3]

It is clear, thus, that the religious practices in the 19th Century were sincerely and strictly observed and it was this fact that made the sepoys to take resort to arms in 1857. It is to be kept in view that before actually beginning the mutiny the sepoys had made it perfectly clear that they were solidly behind the Government; only they would brook no interference in their religion. In this connection the words in which the soldiers at Ambala had expressed their feelings are well worth quoting: " They are all ready to a man to fire when ordered, but they would wish to represent for the paternal considerations of His Excellency the social consequence of military obedience to themselves. They become outcastes for ever not only in their corps but also in their families and their homes. Their devotion to the service and submission to the military authorities would inflict on them the direct and most terrible punishment they can undergo in this world."[4] On an earlier occasion in 1855, the rebel soldiers at Bolarum who had mutined on religious grounds had told their British Officers that "' they were the servants of the State and would lay down their lives for the Government but that their religion was dearer to them than their lives."[5] Do these words sound like those of a community upsurged with the feelings of revolt and seeking for a pretext to begin the catastrophe or like those of faithful subjects requesting for the redressal of their grievances with all the humility at their command ?

The above discussion makes it perfectly clear that the causes of the principal three revolts of Indian soldiers in the 19th Century lay in their religious discontent. Now, what were the circumstances that drew the other sections of the population under the banner of the rebels in 1857 whereas the other two rebellions were restricted to the military camps ? Those, who hold the view that discontent of people was responsible for such an eventuality, have missed this pertinent fact that the conditions in 1806 and 1824 were no better than those existing in 1857. As early as 1817, Sir Thomas Munro, writing to the Governor-General Lord Hastings, after pointing out the advantages of the British Rule said: " But these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of Independence, of national character and of whatever renders a people respectable...there is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all shares of the Government of their country as in British India."[6] A year later he

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
4. Care Browne, *The Punjab and Delhi in* 1857, vol. I, p. 45.
5. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
6. J. Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 301.

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wrote again, " foreign conquerers have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty but none has treated them with so much scorn as we : none has stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty and as fit to be employed only when we cannot do without them."[7] Such circumstances must have been accumulating for several years past and therefore in 1806 also condition of the people, it may be suggested, would have been the same as in 1818, 1824 or 1857 and if it was the discontent prevailing among the masses that spread the flame of movement in 1857 to the other sections of the community, the mutinies in 1806 and 1824 ought to have been somewhat affected by it. But it was not so and therefore to suggest that the movement of 1857 was the result of the acute discontent of the people would be going against historical facts. It is true that the people were not satisfied with the administration, but that this drove them to the support of the rebels does not appear to be true in the light of the facts mentioned above. From a purely logical point of view the causes of the support that the movement of 1857 undoubtedly received from other sections of the community must lay in certain circumstances that did not exist in 1806 or in 1824.

These new circumstances were created by the imperialist policy of Dalhousie that resulted in the expropriation of many native kings and landlords. Right from the day, the English first stepped on the Indian soil, it had been their policy to create a British Indian Empire on the ashes of the native states. This aim had been, to a considerable degree, achieved as the result of the subtle policy persuaded by the previous Governor General. But up to 1848 the British policy in India was so cautious that it seldom did any offence to the feelings of the Indian kings. This policy was all of a sudden reversed with the arrival of Dalhousie who would not tolerate even that precarious type of independence that certain states were even then enjoying. Under this doctrine of lapse or Escheat he grabbed many states namely Satara, Nagpur, Jhanshi, Oudh, Berar, Tanjore, Carnatic and discontinued pensions and some other privileges of some individuals including Nana Sahib the adopted son of Ex-Peshwa Bajirao second. Kuwarsingh the Rajput Chief of Jagdishpur in Bihar had been deprived of his Estates by the Board of Revenue and the descendents of the great Moghuls were to be removed from their ancestors' palace to the Qutb near Dehli. All this naturally gave rise to the feeling of revenge in the heart of those whose privileges had been taken away. But conscious as they were of their own weakness, they could not raise their arms against the mighty Company Government just then. They perhaps at that time could not even imagine that the Indian army could ever stand against the British Rule, otherwise they would have made some joint plan of action. But as has been conclusively

7. *Ibid.*, p. 801.

proved by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and S. N. Sen "Nowhere did the sepoys' conduct conform to a common pattern and the obvious inference is that they had no pre-concerted plan to follow."[8]

The revolt at Meerut offered these disgruntled elements a golden opportunity to avenge the harm done to them by the British and, if posible, to undo the arrangements that had resulted in the loss of their privileges. Thus the revolt that originated due to the religious grievances of the sepoys took a somewhat political colour. The rebel declared decrepit Bahadur Shah as their Emperor and both the Hindu and the Muslim united against the British. Much significance has been attached to this unity of the two principal communities of India. But it is incredible to the highest degree that those native rulers who had once not only welcomed the British but had also on several occasions come to the side of the foreigners against their own counterparts in other states, were, all of a sudden promoted by the feelings of Independence. The only explanation of their unity in 1857 lies in the saying, "Adversity makes strange bed-fellows." It was a negative unity against a common oppressor and we have examples of many such unities in history, one of the most important being the one during the World War II. It is to be noted that Nana Sahib at one stage had even asked his soldiers not to march to Delhi to fight under the Moghul emperor. What more does one require to show the real nature of the unity of 1857?

After they reached Delhi, the rebels tried to win the co-operation of people. They called the rebellion as the war of Independence. Bahadur Shah, who had accepted their leadership though not without difficulty, issued a proclamation promising many concessions to the people on the successful conclusion of the "War of Independence." An Advisory Council was also set up to conduct the administration. But it appears that the people were absolutely uneffected by all this. Bahadur Shah sought financial assistance from the people and "under great pressure from the king only one lakh could be raised, and on later occasions, what to talk of contributions, even the loans were refused whereas Jyotiprasad, a contractor of Agra had advanced Rs. 33,000/- to the English.[9] The Delhi merchants continued their trade with those part of the city which were under the possession of the British, in spite of express orders of the emperor to the contrary. The army was not under the control of emperor and the soldiers indiscriminately looted the people.[10] The old emperor received number of complaints against the unseemly behaviour of the soldiers and his kinsmen but what more than ineffective remonstrances could be expected of a man who was a prisoner in the

8. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

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hands of his own followers. The people at Delhi were so much vexed by the soldiers that, as Munshi Jawlal, a contemporary of Delhi has left it on record, they prayed to God for the failure of the rebels.[11] The conditions at other places were no better and we find similar accounts of some other places as well.[12] Important British officers could travel over long distances with only a handful of body-guards. The educated people of Bengal and Madras had openly denounced the conduct of the rebels and a loyal address was presented by the Maharaja of Berdban and 25,000 other signatories recounting the benefits of British Rule.[13] Tantya Tope, one of the important leaders of the movement, could get no shelter after he crossed the Nerbuda[14] and the Peshwa got but little support in his home province of Maharashtra.[15]

On the basis of above discussions, it is quite clear that in spite of their best efforts, the rebels could not get the desired co-operation of people. Though in certain parts like Oudh and Ṣahabad the people had certainly backed the movement but, " they were not champions of freedom." They wanted to revive the old order, they were really trying to stage a counter revolution. There is no denying the fact that a number of people had swelled the ranks of rebels but as pointed out by a contemporary, Durgadas Bandyophadya, the recruits were attracted by the prospects of employment. Thousands had flocked to the British Camp for the same reason and as Medley has pointed out, " In fact for every white man in camp, there were certainly 20 black ones."[16] Some people had joined the rebel army for prospects of loot. In no case the notorious dacoit Mahimaji Wadi who had joined Tantya Tope troops and Belsera a Maharastrian Brahamin who had left for north in quest of wealth, could be credited with the feelings of national love.

But even in the absence of active support of the large number of people, the movement could have been called a war of independence had it won the general sympathy of the people, for "so long as the substantial majority sympathises with the main object of the movement, it can claim a national status, though universal active support may be wanting. Outside Oudh and Sahabad there is no evidence of that general sympathy which would invest the mutiny with the dignity of the national war."[17] As the matter of fact the words of Dr. Alexander Duff for the Bengali

11. R. C. Majumdar, " Revolt in East U. P. " *A. B. Patrika* (Alld.), 10 May 1957.
12. Majumdar refers to a statement of one Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya of Bareily in his above article.
13. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 408.
14. Maulana Azad in his Introduction to Sen's book.
15. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-18.
16. Quoted by Sen, p. 418.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

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population are applicable to the people throughout the country: "Numbers of our Bengali population still continue to view the whole business with something like unreasoning indifference. They can scarcely be said to be either loyal or disloyal, while discontent lurks deeply in the hearts of millions. Many, it cannot be doubted, are at the same time well enough disposed towards our rule; though to talk of attachment would only tend to mislead."[18]

There may be three possible causes of this indifference of people. First, in the whole course of Indian history we find absolutely no example of the peoples' participation in political activities like war or movement and it is no wonder that with such a historical background they attached no importance to the movement of 1857. Secondly, at no stage the movement assumed the character of a war of national liberation; the soldiers who began it were actuated by religious considerations and the native kings never rose above their selfish interests. The kings during their happier days had treated the people no better than the British were doing. What difference would it make for the people if the rule of the British was replaced by that of the Indian Rulers; it would be the replacement of an alien oppression by a native one. Why should they in that case bother about something that would bring absolutely no chage in their material conditions. Thirdly, in 1857 there was no idea of nationalism and none can think of a war of independence without the idea of a natoinalism as its deriving force.

In estimating the popularity of the movement of 1857 two significant facts have so far not received the due attention of scholars. First, almost all popular political movements in history have left their marks on contemporary and later literature. What then was the influence of the movement of 1857 on Hindi Literature? For, as Dr. Ramvilas Sharma, a noted Hindi critic, has rightly pointed out, the theatre of the movement was mainly the Hindi-speaking area of the country. Bharandu Harishchandra (1850-1935) has praised the benefits of British Rule in an unembiguious language. Without mincing matters he says plainly that the British Rule has provided all the amenities of life. Another famous poet of the age, Rasraj Babu Biharising, after describing the facilities provided by the British Rule, has prayed for a long life to Queen Victoria. A very famous poet of Hindi, Pt. Pratap Narayan Mishra (1856-1894), has written—

सन् सत्तावन माँहि जबै कळु सेना बिगरी
तब राजा दिसि ही रही, सुदृढ़ है, परजा सिगरी।

18. Duff, *The Indian Rebellion, its Causes and Results*, p. 180.

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(in 1857 when a section of the army revolted the people solidly sided with the company government). Again he has described the attitude of the people towards the movement in the following words :

दुष्ट समुझि अपने भाइन को साथ न दीन्हों,
भोजन बिन विद्रोहिन कर दल निरबल कीन्हों,
ठौर ठोर निज घर लुटवर अरु कुंकवाए,
प्रान खोय बहु ब्रिटिश प्रजा के प्रान बचाए।

(The people thought that their own brethern had gone astray and therefore did not co-operate with them. They weakened the ranks of the soldiers by withholding the food supply. Besides they lost their houses and lives in their efforts to save the people of British origin). The following lines of Upadhaya Badrinath Choudhri " Premghana " (1855-1922) are also significant :

देसो मूढ़ सिणाह कहुक लै कुटिल प्रजा सग,
कियों अमिल उत्पात रच्चो निज नासन के ढंग,
बद्यों देस में दुःख वनि गई प्रजा अति कातर,
फेंत्यो तब तुम दया दीठ भारत के ऊपर।

(Some foolish soldiers and faithless and cunning section of Indian population created much disturbance and thereby paved the way for their annihilation. As a consequence of the misdeeds of the rebels the people became the victim of untold misery and suffering and then O Lord, you showered your kindness on India).

These lines of the contemporary Hindi poets who had undoubtedly given a national turn to Hindi Poetry, tell their own stories. The folk-songs of the time do not paint a better picture. The following folk songs in which a lady regrets the lack of experience in the art of looting on the part of her husband is still popular in the regions around Saharanpur

लोगों नें लूटे शाल दुशाले मेरे प्यारे नें लूटे समाल
मेरठ का सदर बाजार है, मेरे सैंयां लूटें न जानें।

(In the cantonment market of Meerut other people looted valuable property but unfortunately my husband looted only handkerchiefs. He is ignorant of the technique of looting). These lines vividly represent the atmosphere of fear and loot as referred to by Munshi Jiwanlal.

Thus the above passages of the contemporary Hindi Literature amply reveal that even after the suppression of Mutiny the people at large considered the movement as an act of utter folly. It may be suggested that the people were living under an atmosphere of repression and therefore could not have given vent to their real feelings but, had it been so, they should have preferred silence to praising their own enemies.

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The second factor that should have received proper attention is that the movement of 1857 left absolutely no mark on the later movement for Indian Independence. Between 1857 and 1885 we find no evidence of revolutionary feelings among the people and it is significant that it was an Englishman who had founded the Indian National Congress in 1885. The Congress in the beginning was actuated by no revolutionary feelings and it remained a passive organisation up to 1905 when the emergence of Tilak on Indian Political scene gave a new turn to its activities and philosophy. Even then it took years to decide that the final goal of the fight was complete independence of the country. Should we call the movement of 1857 as a war of Independence how to explain this passive attitude of the country for decades following the movements, history has provided so many examples of the facts that failure cannot extinguish the urge for independence once it is created in the heart of a people.

Thus on the basis of the above discussion, it is clear that the movement of 1857 was not a national movement in the true sense of the term, it was not a war of Independence. The movement had begun to force the hands of Government to redress the religious grievances of the soldiers, there was absolutely no political demand behind it. And those who were responsible for the spread of movement " did so for personal reasons. They did not rise against the British till their personal interest had been damaged. Even after the revolt had begun Nana Sahib declared that if Dalhousie's decisions were reversed and his own demands met he would be willing to come to terms." As a matter of fact the soldiers throughout fought only under the impression that they were fighting for their religion. They were not against English Race as such but only against the ruling section which had unwarrantedly interfered and was likely to interfere in future also with their religion. This is why after the famous declaration of Queen Victoria granting freedom for religious practices, the movement completely died out, because the main demand had been fulfilled. Thereafter the Queen could claim sincere love and fidelity of the people.

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THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES CONTROL ACT OF 1876

DR. R. K. DAS GUPTA

ON March 20, 1876, two distinguished judges of the Calcutta High Court disposed of an appeal case in which the defendants were the Director and the Manager of a popular theatre house of the city. Their lordships acquitted Upendranath Das and Amritalal Bose whom the lower court had given a month's imprisonment on a charge of staging an obscene play at the National Threatre.

It was a historic case indeed if only for the reason that on all showing the Dramatic Performances Control Act of 1876 which is still in force was mostly conceived as an executive precaution against such sheer justice. And in colonial Governments an upright judiciary brings in too many laws.

In this trial the two judges were upright to a degree and they were distinguished scholars too. Sir William Markby was a Fellow of All Souls and Balliol, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and became, after retirement, Reader in Indian Law at Oxford. And Sir John Phear was a Wrangler of Cambridge where he was a Fellow and Lecturer of Clare College. No less eminent were the lawyers on the defence side-Mr. Branson, Monomohun Ghosh, Taraknath Palit and above all W. C. Bonnerjee, who barely ten years after presided over the first session of the Indian National Congress. The judgment which freed the defendants made the Government feel very uneasy.

Surendra-Binodini Natak, and that is the name of the play in question, annoyed the Government because it was an intensely political piece of writing and was seditious in purport. The charge of obscenity was nothing more than an administrative ruse for avoiding public criticism. The Government pretended to act as guardian of public morality while its real intention was to suppress a play which was an assault on the foreign bureaucracy. It was as though the Royalists were to chase a Roundhead because his features were ugly or a Jocobin was to be hanged for unchristian ideas. The play was free from any obscenity and the High Court saw its innocence that way.

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The Dramatic Performances Control Act of 1876 (Act XIX) was passed on December 16 as a measure against a growing national stage and its political repertoire. It was indeed a prelude to the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 (March 14) through which Lord Lytton wanted to suppress all Indian opinion against the British Raj—the first shot in this direction having been the inclusion of an antisedition clause (November 25, 1870) in the Indian Penal Code. The seventies in fact are a very significant period in the history of our political struggle. Within the rather short span of ten years the Government introduced four repressive measures—the amendment of the Indian Penal Code, the Dramatic Performances Control Act, the Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act as a timely answer to the rise of Indian nationalism. Then the Government suspected the people and the people suspected the Government.

England was nervous about Russian ambitions in the East : in a possible fulfilment of that ambition quite a large section of political India rested great hope. Bengali newspapers in Calcutta gloated over England's harassments in Europe and were not happy about either the treaty of San Stefano (March 1878) or the Peace of Berlin (June 1878). While they shed tears over the fall of Plevna they would yet love to see Russian sails in the Black Sea and the Bosphorus as a challenge to the increasing power of the masters of their lands.

Lord Beaconsfield's search for what he called a " scientific frontier " in the North-West of India was yet another instance of expansionist diplomacy and when it resulted in a new Afghan war there was an understandable bitterness of feeling in political circles in Calcutta. It was looked upon as an utterly unnecessary war, a bad assault of Afghan sovereignty and a heavy drain on Indian finance. The new taxations were indeed the consequences of Disraeli's aggressive policy supported by a wilful Indian Secretary and an overbearing Viceroy.

The British Government, on the other hand, was exasperated by what it construed to be the seditious tone of the Indian language Press and was determined to be on its guard. In 1875 Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Government of India that he had seen articles " in the native Press which are not only calculated to bring the Government into contempt, but which palliate, if they do not absolutely justify, the assassination of British officers."

The assassinations of Justice Norman (20 September, 1871) and of Lord Mayo (8 February 1872) had no political significance. But they were yet enough to make the Government restive. When Gaikwar Malhar Rao's alleged attempt at poisoning Col. Phayre led to his exile the Calcutta Press was resentful. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* took

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courage to write (28 January, 1875) : " To emasculate a nation, that the Government may rule without trouble: Surely to poison an obscure colonel is by far a lighter crime."

The Government had reason to be worried and afraid. The people had reason to be critical and resentful. And so far as we can judge at this distance of time there were not a few in Calcutta who were happy about Sher Ali's refusal to receive Sir Neville Chamberlain, who felt bitterly about the treaty of Gandamuk and were not particularly sorry for the murder of Cavagnari and his men.

The economic situation in Bengal was bad enough to promote political unrest. The Bengal-Bihar famine of 1873-74 was a major disaster. Lord Mayo had increased the income-tax from 1 to 3½ per cent. Sir George Campbell's road cess (19 July, 1871) was a sore point. And although there was a protective duty on Lancashire cotton goods people knew of Lord Salisbury's insistence on the abolition of all tariff.

The political significance of the Bengali play and of the legislation it provoked has to be studied against this political background of the seventies. The songs of the Hindu Mela, a national festival started in 1867, were patriotic but seldom violently anti-British. The first political play *Bharatmata* (1873) was not seditious in the least. It was nevertheless obvious that the Government was not happy about the growth of a national stage and the patriotic drama. Far from patriotism to sedition was but one step. And the Bengali stage was in fact taking that step. If plays like Jyotirindranath Tagore's *Purubikram* (1874) and *Sarojini* (1875) fostered the sentiment of patriotism, Upendranath Das's *Surendra Binodini Natak* promoted the spirit of sedition.

Another play which provoked the Government immensely was Dakshinacharan Chattopadhyaya's *Chakar Darpan Natak* (Mirror of Tea-planters, January 1875) which revived the spirit of Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nil Darpan* (1860). And an assault on the European planters was nothing less than an assault on the Government. *Chakar-Darpan* was never staged and yet it frightened the Government and an English translation of it made for official use is still to be found among the papers relating to the Dramatic Performances Control Act.

The circumstances that precipitated the passing of the Act make an interesting story. The three most offensive plays in the eye of the Government were *Chakar Darpan Gaekwar Natak* (1875) and *Surendra-Binodini Natak* (10 August, 1875). The first was never staged, the second was first staged on May 22, 1875, and the third was first staged on August 14.

In the first week of January 1876, the Prince of Wales (Edward VII), then on a visit to India, was received in the house of Jagadananda Mukherjee, a Government pleader, who introduced his guest to the women-folk of his house. The appearance of Hindu ladies in the presence of an Englishman and a member of the ruling class at that showed an excess of loyalty which many condemned and many more ridiculed till it came to be the scandal of the day. Hemchandra Banerjee lampooned the loyal vakil in a fairly powerful satire which was published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 20 January 1876, and about a month later (19 February) the Great National Theatre burlesqued the whole episode in a farce called *Gajadananda and Raj Kumar*.

To the Calcutta police it was indeed a form of disloyalty publicly to ridicule a loyal citizen and they asked the theatre not to repeat the performance. On 23 Feburary, however, the play was produced again though with a different name. And on 26 Feburary, it was acted for the third time with the still more comic name of *Hanuman Charitra*.

This angered the Government who found it difficult to deal with recalcitrant and tricky theatre with existing laws. As an emergency measure Lord Northbrook issued an ordinance on 29th Feburary "empowering the Government of Bengal to prohibit certain dramatic performances which were scandalous, defamatory, seditious, obscene or otherwise prejudicial to the public interest." The Great National Theatre answered by producing on March 1, 1876 an improvised burlesque called *The Police of Pig and Sheep*, parodying the Police Commissioner, Mr. Hogg, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Lamb, with utmost levity. And the serious drama presented that day was none other than *Surendra-Binodini Natak* in which prisoners break open the iron gates and kill a British magistrate. Three days later (March 4) the police arrested Upendra Nath Das, Amritalal Bose and eight others of the Great National Theatre and charged them with having acted an immoral drama. Mr. Dickens found Upendranath and Amritalal guilty under Sections 292 and 294 of the Indian Penal Code and galve them a month's simple imprisonment. The rest were acquitted. From what two distinguished judges of the High Court said about the play it appears that Mr. Dickens punished its anti-British spirit rather than its obscenity.

Dickens gave his judgment on March 8. The next day the accused appealed to the High Court where Justice Markeby and Justice Phear acquitted them on March 20. The judgment pleased the public but exasperated the Government who then proceeded to pit a measure of British bureaucracy against any possible recurrence of British justice. The Dramatic Performances Control Act was indeed an executive precaution against judicial honesty. Such honesty in those days of rising nationalism was a source of much worry to the Government.

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The Act provided " that whenever the Government was of opinion that any dramatic performance was scandalous or defamatory or likely to excite feelings of dissatisfaction towards the Government or likely to cause pain to any private party in its performance, or was otherwise prejudicial to the interest of the public, Government might prohibit such a performance." And still more arbitrary is the section which empowers any magistrate or police officer " to enter with such assistance as may be requisite by night or by day and by force if necessary to enter any such house, room or place and take into custody all persons whom he finds there for the said purpose.

This was authorizing the police to do whatever they liked and as a piece of legislation it was no less obnoxious than the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. And it is significant that both the Acts were passed when Disraeli was the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury the Secretary of State and Lytton the Viceroy.

As we look back to those days and see their link with our later toils for freedom we realize that repressive measures such as these only strengthened the new nationalism. For in a subject country nothing could be more dangerous than good government. And if Gladstone's honest Ripon had done anything great for the country it was not his repeal of the Vernacular Press Act but his withdrawal of the Ilbert Bill.

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RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER DELIMITATION, 1885-87

DR. DILIP KUMAR GHOSE

AFTER the Panjdeh issue[1] had been submitted to arbitration,[2] negotiations were begun in London[3] between the British and Russian Governments for the demarcation of the northern frontier of Afghanistan. Sir Peter Lumsden, the leader of the British Boundary Commission in Afghanistan, was ordered to return to England leaving Colonel Ridgway in charge of the Commission. Pursuant to traditional British policy Gladstone sought by practical means to arrest Russian aggression in Central Asia, and to set up the Kingdom of Afghanistan as a bulwark against Russia in Central Asia. To strengthen the hands of the Amir in Afghanistan Dufferin granted him further assistance in money and munitions,[4] and Kimberley and Granville pressed hard upon the Russian Government to demarcate the northern frontier of Afghanistan.[5] Panjdeh was neutralised, and both the Afghans and the Russians were prohibited from entering into that territory.[6]

The discussions in London were based upon a general agreement that Panjdeh should be exchanged for Zulfiqar.[7] But the country was so little known that no common meaning could be attached to the name "Zulfiqar." Neither Government was able to accept the line proposed by the other to carry this agreement into effect. A controversy arose out of a wrong entry in the English map of Central Asia drawn by General Walker in which the name "Zulfiqar" was given to a point on the left bank of the Heri Rud which happened to be outside the territory which later on became the subject of communications between the Russian and the English Governments.[8] In accordance with this map, M. de Giers, while agreeing to the general principle of exchange of

1. For a critical estimate of the Panjdeh issue refer to Ghose, D. K., "Highlights on Panjdeh," *Calcutta Review*, Nov. and Dec. 1954, and January, 1955.
2. The King of Denmark was invited to undertake this task. *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 582-87.
3. PP, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 5, (C. 4418), pp. 40-41.
4. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 475, also *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 679.
5. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 5.
6. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 318.
7. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 6.
8. *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 554.

Panjdeh for Zulfiqar, laid down a line of demarcation on the 16th April, 1885.[9] This was afterwards fully elaborated in a Memorandum communicated to the Earl of Granville on the 21st May.[10]

But the British Government objected to the Russian proposal on the ground that it would deprive the Amir of the Pass of Zulfiqar which the Viceroy of India had guaranteed him.[11] To the Russian project they demanded certain modifications,[12] one of the objects of which, among others, was to secure complete control by the Afghans over the pass in question. These were however turned down by the Government of St. Petersburgh as, they pointed out, the English line would cut-off one of the main roads—the Ak-Robat Road[13]—of communication on their side of the frontier.

In this difficulty, however, the two Governments agreed to leave the task of settling the disputed points to the Boundary Commission. But the plan itself was well-nigh impossible of execution so long as the two Governments did not agree to meet each other half way. For, while Russia contended that the integrity of Russian communications should not be subordinated to the Afghan requirements in respect of the Zulfiqar Pass.[14] Granville agreed to the meeting of the Boundary

9. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

In this Memorandum the Russian line was thus laid down :—The frontier would start from the Heri Rud a little to the north of the point marked " Zulfikar Pass " on the English Map, would follow the crests of the heights which border the valley of the Heri Rud in an easterly and southerly direction, and would then pass between Ak-Robat and Souma Karez, and run to Islim, where it would pass to the right bank of the Egri Goek, leaving Islim outside Afghan territory. From thence it would follow the crests of the hills which border the right bank of the Egri Goek, and leaving Chaman-i-Bid outside the Afghan frontier, it would follow in the same manner the crests of the hills bordering the right bank of the Kushk as far as Hauzi-Khan, from whence it would run to a point situated to the north of Maruchak in such a way as to comprise as much as possible within Russian territory the lands cultivated by the Saryk Turkomans, and their pastures. Applying this same principle, the frontier to the east of the Murghab would be traced in a zone between the heights shown on Russian Map and bordering to the north and west the valleys of the Kaisor and of the Sangalak, and the limits of the cultivated lands of Maimana and Andkhoi, forming part of the Afghan territory, and would end at Khoja Saleh. Should the Cabinet of London, continued the Memorandum, desire an extension of the Afghan pastures near Maimana and Andkhoi, as well as of the limits of Zulfiqar, the Russian Government agreed to give their consent to it on condition that Maruchak should be ceded to them, and the frontier fixed to the north of Bala Murghab.

11. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1885, Cons., 845, and October 1885, Cons., 679.

12. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), pp. 35-37.

To the Russian project the British Government demanded the following modifications :—

That the line should so follow the crests of the heights bordering the Zulfiqar that the Afghans might get command of both ends of the pass in question ; that Maruchak, Maimana and Andkhoi should remain under the Afghans in accordance with the Russian proposal of the 10th January, 1885, and the Agreement of 1872-73.

13. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 40.

14. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 500.

Commission explicitly on condition that the basis of the agreement between the two Governments should be that of April 16, 1885[15] by which Russia had agreed to exchange Panjdeh for Zulfiqar.

It was at this critical juncture of the negotiations that the Gladstone Ministry fell from power and the Conservatives assumed the task of governance in England. On the accession of the new Ministry to power de Giers hoped that the boundary negotiations would be continued from the point where they had been left by the late Government.[16] But so long as the two Governments refused to recede from their respective contentions as to Zulfiqar, no acceptable basis could be found for the settlement of the boundary question.[17] Lord Salisbury, strengthened by the opinion of the Viceroy and his Council[18] as well as by that of Colonel Ridgway'[19] the man on the spot, sought earnestly to vindicate the loss of Panjdeh by the retention of Zulfiqar and Ak-Robat. But Russia declined to alter the conditions laid down by her with regard to the delimitation of the Pass of Zulfiqar, unless investigations made on the spot should show the possibility of extending the limits of the pass without prejudice to the Russian communications.[20]

A deadlock was thus again reached in the boundary negotiations and for a time it appeared as though a failure to reach a settlement might result in the outbreak of a war between the two Powers. Colonel Trench, Military Attache to the English Embassy at St. Petersburg, reported on the 15th July, 1885, " that the defensive works at Sebastopol " were " in a very forward state " and that, in fact, the Russian Government, anticipating " an entire change of policy on the part of the British Cabinet " as a result of the accession of the new Ministry to power, had begun military preparations. Russia, he reported, was planning to join Krasnovodsk Bay with Michaelovak Bay, terminus of the Trans-CaspianRailway. " The object of the project " was " to facilitate the conveyance of Russian troops from Europe to Central Asia."[21]

The British Government, on their part, aticipating that peace might be broken, hastened to inform the Amir that " on no account " should the military preparations begun by him since the time of the Panjdeh crisis be relaxed, and that he should take every measure for "pushing on the fortifications of Herat."[22] Ridgway was instructed to

15. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4889), p. 45.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.
17. *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 515.
18. *Ibid.*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 498.
19. *Ibid.*, August 1885, *Cons.*, 209.
20. *Ibid.*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 479.
21. *Ibid.*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 552.
22. *Ibid.*, August 1885, *Cons.*, 289.

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co-operate with the Afghans in the defence of Herat.[23] The Viceroy was given full liberty of action in case of emergency,[24] and he was assured that the Home Government would give the " utmost possible support to whatever policy," in his opinion, " would best provide for Indian interests."[25] The British Cabinet decided that any attempt by Russia on Herat should be regarded as a *casus belli*.[26]

If war cloud was thus gathering, there was still a silver lining in the cloud. On the 15th July M. Staal called upon the Marquis of Salisbury to express " his regret at the apparent deadlock in the negotiations for the settlement of the Afghan frontier." Salisbury, while refusing to accept the Russian proposal of submitting the question of demarcation to the Boundary Commission without a previous understanding on the Zulfiqar issue, suggested to the Russian Ambassador that he had no objection to the Russian Government's desire to survey the debatable land for the purpose of finding a way out of the tangled situation. And he further assured the Russian Ambassador that similar surveys, if necessary, would be done by the British Officers on the spot, though they would work separately and not conjointly with the Russians.[27] It was this provision which eventually paved the path for an amicable settlement between the two Governments.

Animated by the desire for an amicable settlement the Government of St. Petersburg promised to leave that part of the Zulfiqar Pass which crossed " the first range of the heights bordering the Heri Rud." M. de Giers further assured the British Government that if necessary Russia would not even " refuse to push still further eastwards the limit of the territory to be ceded to the Afghans."[28]

On this basis a fresh proposal was made by Russia towards the end of August. The British Foreign Office agreed to accept the new proposal on condition that the frontier line should nowhere approach the heights bordering the Zulfiqar Pass nearer than 1000 yards.[29] Russia accepted this modification[30] and a protocol as accordingly signed between the two Governments on the 10th September, 1885.[31]

In accordance with the conditions of the September Protocol the Boundary Commissiners, Colonel Ridgway on behalf of England and Colonel Kuhlberg on behalf of Russia, met at Zulfiqar on the 10th

23. *Ibid.*, 1885, *Cons.*, 259.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, *Cons.*, 801-02.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 515.
28. *Ibid.*, *Cons.*, 554.
29. *PP.*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 69.
30. *Ibid.*, July 1886, *Cons.*, 552.
31. *Ibid.*, January 1886, *Cons.*, 85.

November, 1885. For a few months the demarcation of the Afghan frontier proceeded smoothly, but in March, 1886, a certain misunderstanding[32] grew up with regard to the definition of 'Khoja Saleh' of the agreement of 1872-73. In that agreement this place had been referred to as "the post of Khoja Saleh," and the British Government agreed that nothing below this post on the left bank of the Oxus would be claimed for the Amir of Afghanistan, as against the rights of the Amir of Bukhara. Russia accepted the British definition of the Amir's boundaries which held the field till the territory in question came under examination thirteen years later. It was then found that the Afghan boundary with Bukhara had been demarcated by Afghan and Bukharan officials some ten years earlier, that it did not correspond with the British definition, and that there was no such post as Khoja Saleh.[33] To make matters worse, the question at issue was complicated by the fact that "Khoja Saleh" was indifferently termed a ford, a ferry, a village or villages, a post and a point, in the correspondence that terminated with the Agreement of 1872-73.[34]

Thanks, however, to the conciliatory efforrts of M. de Giers and the Earl of Rosebery,[35] the negotiations did not come to a deadlock. Inspite of the difference in opinions of the English and Russian commissioners the task of delimitation was carried on, and the boundary between the Heri Rud and Dukchi was amicably settled. Yet, the work of delimitation up to Dukchi was often interrupted by the Amir's officials whose arrogance and threats placed the British Commission in a humiliating position. And, since at the time there was a possibility of a rebellious outbreak in Afghanistan in which case a retreat through that country of the British Commission would have been impossible, the British Government, at the suggestion of Colonel Ridgway, neogtiated through Sir Robert Morier, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, an arrangement with the Russian Government that the Boundary Commission should be dissolved, and that the line of frontier between Dukchi and the Oxus should be settled on a Governmental level.[36] The British Commission left the Oxus on the 15th September, and after halting for some time at Kabul and Peshawar, Colonel Ridgway returned to London.

Correspondence then ensued between the British and Russian Governments as to whether the negotiations should be resumed at London or at St. Petersburg. In accordance with the desire of the Russian

32. *PP.*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 87.
33. *Ibid.*, February 1887, *Cons.*, 341A.
34. *PP.*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 44.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
36. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1886, *Cons.*, 624; and *For. Dept., Secret E*, October, 1887, *Cons.* 107.

Government,[37] however, preference was given to the latter city, and Colonel Sir West Ridgway reached St. Petersburg with his staff on the 11th April, 1887.[38]

Meanwhile, the Khoja Saleh question had again come up for the consideration of the two Governments. Both Dufferin[39] and Ridgway[40] strongly supported the Amir's claims upon Khamiab[41] which were at one time admitted,[42] and at another rejected, by the Russian Government.[43] The question that required a settlement was whether the frontier between Dukchi and the Oxus should run to Khamiab or to Islam or the shrine of Khoja Saleh, the latter two being respectively 14 and 21 miles higher up the river than Khamiab.[44] Differences occurred between the British and Russian Commissioners as to the meaning of the word "Khoja Saleh" of the agreement of 1872-73. Investigations on the Oxus led the Commissioners to different conclusions, Russia claiming that Khoja Saleh referred to a "Ziarat" or tomb, while England asserted that the post was situated at a place called Islam. The question was further complicated when Russia demanded that the post referred to a building called the Robat of Tahir Muhammad Khan, situated a few miles lower down the river Oxus.[45]

When the negotiations were resumed at St. Petersburg, the controversy actually centred round the following point. By the London Protocol of the 10th September, 1885, the right of Russia to the Panjdeh Valley was affirmed, but it was not then known that the Saryks had extended their cultivation into the side valleys of the Kushk and Kashan, where, though they continued to reside in the Panjdeh Valley, they had opened canals and reclaimed lands. The protocol accordingly defined the frontier between the Heri Rud and Murghab rivers in such a manner as to deprive the Saryks of these lands. When, therefore, negotiations were resumed Russia claimed these lands for the Saryks in lieu of the Khamiab territory which the Afghans had claimed for themselves.[46]

37. *For. Dept., Secret F*, June 1887, Cons., 463.
38. *Ibid., Cons.*, 463.
39. *Ibid.*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 602.
40. *Ibid., Cons.*, 570.
41. *Ibid., Cons.*, 571, 586A and 686.
42. *P.P.*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 108.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
44. *For. Dept., Secret. F*, February 1887, *Cons.*, 341A.
45. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), pp. 108 and 145; also *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1887, *Cons.*, 107; also August 1887, *Cons.*, 4.
The question was still further complicated by the findings of Captain Peacocke of the British Commission. His evidence tends to prove that when the negotiations of 1868-73 began the Khoja Saleh ferry was at Islam, but when the agreement of 1872-73 was concluded the ferry had been moved upto a point near the "Ziarat." (*PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), pp. 252-58.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 71 and 75; also *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1887 *Cons.*, 107.

The instructions[47] with which Ridgway left for St. Petersburg were first, to resist any attempt to call in question the frontier line demarcated upto Dukchi except where it might be right to make allowance for slight errors of surveying, or where some moderate concessions would facilitate as favourable settlement in regard to Khamiab. Secondly, as regards the remaining part of the frontier, he was to insist on the inclusion of Khamiab within the territories of Afghanistan.

Himself being convinced that concessions on the Kushk, Kashan and Murghab rivers as against complete possession of Khamiab by the Afghans would help an early settlement of the boundary question,[48] Colonel Ridgway began negotiations on that line. But there could not be any agreement between him and Zinoview[49] as to the extent and nature of these concessions. The latter demanded a rectification of the frontier which required that Chahil Dukhteran and Maruchak should be outside Afghan territory.[50] As Ridgway complained, Russia thus claimed about 1100 square miles of land while he was prepared to allow her to have only about eight square miles.[51] Ridgway thereupon tried to induce Zinoview to abate his demands, but failing to do that he referred the matter to the Home Government.[52]

Fortunately, however, just at the time when the negotiations seemed to be heading towards a crisis the Czar[53] showed very sincere inclinations of coming to an understanding with England. The result was that in another meeting of the delegates Zinoview agreed to a contraction of the Russian demands if only the British Government should sympathetically consider the question of granting lands to the Saryks.

Upon this Ridgway suggested a compromise which was telegraphed to London[54] for the sanction of the Home Government. Pending, however, a consultation with the Viceroy, Salisbury refused to give his opinion. On the other hand, he asked Ridgway to come back to London for further discussions about the boundary negotiations.[55]

Meanwhile, things had very much changed in Afghanistan. There was a rebellion against the Amir, and his prospects against the rebels appeared rather gloomy. This state of things rendered the necessity of an early settlement imperative. Ridgway was, therefore, sent back to St. Petersburg with instructions to come to an agreement with the Russian

47. *For. Dept., Secret F*, June 1887, *Cons.*, 450 ; also *vide* Feb. 1887, *Cons.*, 314-48.
48. *Ibid.*, August 1887, *Cons.*, 1-82, k.w. 2.
49. He was the Russian delegate in the St. Petersburg meetings.
50. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), pp. 341-42.
51. *For. Dept., Secret F*, August 1887, *Cons.*, 4.
52. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 337.
53. Ridgway had an interview with the Czar on the 13th May 1887, *For Dept., Secret F*, October 1887, *Cons.*, 107.
54. On May 24, 1887, *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 362.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

Government. He was required, first, to try an understanding on the basis of concessions on the Kushk, Kashan and Murghab without alienating Chahil Dukhteran. Failing to secure it he should allow some moderate concessions to Russia on the Oxus. Should this measure also fail Ridgway was to state plainly that the British Government was willing to refer the matter to arbitration of a friendly and impartial power.[56]

But none of the alternatives was accepted so that another deadlock seemed imminent. This was, however, averted by Ridgway who suggested another compromise on the basis that the Afghan colonies at Kara Tapa and Chahil Dukhteran should not be removed from their possession.[57] After some deliberation Russia gave way, and the frontier on the Murghab was settled.

As regards the frontier on the Oxus, however, differences again cropped up between the delegates of the two Governments. Russia demanded certain concessions which practically amounted to depriving Khamiab of its important riverain pastures as well as all the important wells between Dukchi and the Oxus. The difficulty was, however, solved by the interferences of Sir Robert Morier who impressed upon de Giers the necessity of an early and amicable settlement. He pointed out that England had already made reasonable concessions in the Kushk and Kashan Valleys so that it was now Russia's turn to agree to a fair and reasonable frontier on the Oxus.[58] The wise counsel of the British Ambassador prevailed, and Russia agreed to allow the Afghans to retain the riverain pastures of Khamiab, and all the wells which were necessary for pasturage along the Afghan frontier. In return England agreed to leave the Imam Nazar well to Russia's possession,[59] and a settlement was made on July 22, 1887.[60]

Commenting upon the settlement Ridgway observed that the frontier demarcated was "not a good frontier either strategically, politically or ethnographically."[61] This is true. Yet none better could perhaps have been acquired under the circumstances in which the work of delimitation was carried out. Ridgway himself admitted that the Amir gained lands which were never before in his possession, and that as a result of the demarcation of the northern frontier of Afghanistan he did not lose a single "penny of revenue, a single subject or an acre of land which was occupied or cultivated by any Afghan subject."[62]

56. *For. Dept., Secret F*, August 1887, *Cons.*, 1-32, k.w. 2; also July 1887, *Cons.*, 25.
57. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 365; also *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1887, *Cons.*, 107.
58. *Ibid., Cons.*, 107.
59. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 367.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 370-73.
61. *For. Dept., Secret F*, October, 1887, *Cons.*, 107.
62. *Ibid.*

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MR. CHARLES BRADLAUGH, M.P. AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Shri KASIM ALI SAJUNLAL

CHARLES BRADLAUGH has rendered meritorious services to the National Congress. He associated himself with the aspiration of the Indian people. Whether in India or England, he served India with unflagging zeal. In one of his speeches delivered on India, " How we obtained it, how we have ruled it, and how it should be ruled," he pertinently put in a question—'I ask you of whatever party you are, of whatever religion you are—have you the right to be indifferent to the happiness or misery of 254 million people whose destinies you control without appeal ? Your judgment being final upon it, I ask, are you not bound to consider every question that arises, and to influence the decisions that may come to ?'[1] Proceeding further he said, 'The past we cannot change, but we may redeem it. The shame of yesterday exists, but we may make the glory of tomorrow so great that the people may forget the iniquity which preceded it. We cannot make glory by dominance. That is a brute doctrine, the doctrine of the days when men cased themselves in armour and pierced their way with steel. It is the school, *the lessons of equal justice, interest, and love that will win today.*'[2]

The Congress from its inception wanted to have reforms and the Act of 1861 was still on the statute book. The Congress wanted to replace it—by reforming and enlarging the Council—removing inequity—simultaneous examination for I.C.S. in India and England—fighting the age bar, etc.

It is under these circumstances, Charles Bradlaugh, took up the cause of the Congress demand for reforms and spared no energy to push it through. He had already espoused the Ilbert Bill. Now he took up the reforms question which the Congress again and again reiterated in its first two sessions.

1. Charles Bradlaugh, *Speeches* (annotated by John M. Robertson), p. 52.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 52. Italics are mine.

He circulated the Draft Bill for "Reforming the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils of India." He addressed letters to the editors of newspapers in India. One such letter appears in the Hyderabad Record.[3] For the interested readers I quote the letter and the accompanying Draft Bill :—

"London N. W.,
20, Circus Road,
11th Oct. 1889.

"To

The Editor,

Hyderabad Record.

Sir,

I have pleasure in forwarding you in print of the Draft Bill which I propose to ask leave to introduce next session, for carrying out the proposals of the Indian National Congress regarding the enlargement (in number of members and in powers) of the various Legislative Councils in India, and for the provision of Council's where such do not exist. An explanatory Memorandum accompanies the Draft Notice of my intention to introduce such a measure, as indicated, has been placed by me on the Order Book of the House of Commons.

I am anxious that the terms of the Bill should be thoroughly discussed in India and I shall be indebted to you, if you will publish the Draft in your paper, make it the subject of your own criticism and permit correspondence (should any of your readers wish to express an opinion on the Draft Bill as a whole, or on any of its provisions). Your criticism, whether for, or, against the measure, will be of exceeding value in guiding me. I venture to ask your most careful consideration of the Draft, I have the honour to lay before you.

I shall be obliged if you will send copies of your issues containing any reference to the measure and if desired I will remit the value of papers and postage."[4]

Your obedient servant,

Charles Bradlaugh.

3. For the description of this valuable newspapers, read my article, "The Hyderabad Record," *Journal of Deccan History and Culture*, July 1956, pp. 85-97.

4. Referring to the Draft Bill, Dr. Pattabi Sitaramayya writes that, "it embodied the views of the Congress as expressed till then and the Congress in accordance with the wishes drafted certain proposals embodying the mature opinion of the Indian people on the subject, *vide*, P. Sitaramayya, *The History of the Congress*, p. 188.

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Memorandum accompanying Draft of a Bill for Reforming the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils of India.[5]

(1). I have, for some time, felt that further steps should be taken towards the realisation of the Congress programme respecting the reform of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils. This important matter should no longer be subject to mere notice of motion, or of the moving of a resolution, but the proposals for reform should be embodied in a Bill, upon which the judgment of Parliament should be sought. I have, therefore, prepared the accompanying Draft, and forward it to the General Secretary of the Congress, to the various Congress.

It is, of course, not to be expected that this Draft covers all the circumstances of the case, or that the language employed is exactly that which will be determined upon when the final views of the Congress are received in this country, and a Bill for presentation to Parliament is prepared. I trust, however, that it will be useful in guiding discussion, and in calling forth comments which are certain to be of great use to the friends of the measure.

It may be explained that it was at one time intended to make of this measure what is known in Parliamentary language as an Omnibus Bill and to include sections providing for the amendment of the law relating to the examinations held in England for admission into the various civil departments of the public service. The object of such sections would have been to ensure that, henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, examinations should " be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit," and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships) and the like should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary, (Resolution IV, Congress Session, Bombay, 1885). It has, however, been thought that it would be better that this should be done by a separate Bill ; and it is hoped the Congress, during its Session in Bombay, will come to a further unanimous opinion upon this most important subject so that any such measure may have the advantage of the Congress support to comment it to the favourable consideration of Parliament and the people of England.

5. *Hyderabad Record*, 30 October 1889.

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(2) I now proceed to a description of the Draft enclosed.

(3) The preamble sets out in some detail the objects of the Bill.

(4) Sections 1 and 2 deal simply with the Acts and parts of Acts to be amended. Seven clauses of chap. 67 of the twenty fourth and twenty-fifth years of Queen Victoria, relating to the appointment of certain members of the Governor-General's Council are left intact. Such Council, it is proposed, shall be known as the Governor-General's Executive Council, and its members will be ex-officio members of the Supreme Legislative Council.

(5) Section 3 establishes the Supreme Legislative Council on the plan, so far as membership is concerned, proposed by the Congress in their Resolution of 1886 and reaffirmed in subsequent years.

(6) Sections 4, 5 and 7 provide for the Supreme Council being elected for a period of three years only; for the regular Session of this Council being held in Calcutta and commencing at a definite period in each year, provision is also made for the summoning of the Council by the Governor-General when occasions of importance and great urgency have arisen : the mode of election and the qualifications of membership are also set forth.

(7) Sections 8, 9, 10 11, 12 and 13, arrange for various details, the nature of which will be gathered from the explanatory heading to each section. They do not being consequential clauses call for comment at this moment.

(8) Section 14 consists of a statement of business to be transacted, and of the power of veto to be given to the Governor-General, with the option of a final appeal to a Standing Committee of the House of Commons as provided for in the Congress Resolutions already refereed to.

In sub-section (*a*) line 3, *et. seq.*, however, certain words are used which, it is suggested, better carry out the intentions of the Congress. It is recommended that they be accepted. (For the words in the Congress Resolutions " new or enhanced taxation " are inserted these words " the imposition of new taxes, the abolition, reduction, or increase of existing taxes, or the more equitable adjustment of present taxation." Other slight alterations have been made).

(9) Sections 15 and 16 call for no special mention. One is taken from the Act proposed to be amended, and the other is based on the Congress proposals.

At this point the Draft deals with the constitution of Provincial councils.

(10) Section 17 provides for the establishment of a Legislative Council for Madras. Except in the needful wording of the Section, the Congress proposals have been strictly followed. I shall be glad if the Congress will state the number of members in its opinion desirable for each Council, and would further suggest that the principle adopted be a numerical one, say, one elected member for each million of population.

(11) Sections 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 make like provision for the establishment of Councils in Bombay, Bengal, the North West Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces.

(12) Section 23, and Sub-sections (*a*) and (b) are precisely the same as those contained in Section 20, Sub-sections (*a*) and (*b*). From this Section it will be seen that precisely the same powers are arranged for the Supreme and the Provincial Councils. Being guided by the expressed views of the Congress as they were before me, I did not feel at present justified in making any difference between the two classes of Council but would respectfully ask the Congress to consider whether it is not possible, and if possible advisable, to enhance the dignity and enlarge the powers of the Supreme Council in comparison with the Provincial Councils, without, in any way, lessening the importance of the latter.

(13) Section 24 requires, probably, some lengthened explanation. Clause 2 of Resolution IV of the Calcutta Congress, 1886, runs thus :-

"(2) The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the Members of municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominted by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented."

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With this Clause before them the Madras Congress Committee fully considered the whole question, and issued a valuable Memorandum, which has been officially placed in my hands ; in this Memorandum it is suggested that the electing body should be an Electoral College for such Presidency and Province. For convenience I may quote the main proposals made by the Madras Committee as follows :—

" One College should be established in each of the Presidencies, Provinces, or Commissionerships of India, and should be constituted in the following manner :—

" (*a*) Any British subject, born or naturalized, resident in the Presidency or Province of 21 years of age and upwards, shall be eligible thereon for election and service, without distinction of race, creed, colour, or caste, provided that he shall not, within the previous ten years, have been in jail under conviction, not subsequently reversed, of a non-bailable offence ; that he shall be able to read and write in the English language, or in one of the vernaculars of India and who either pays yearly revenue or rent of not less than Rs. 50 to the Government, or to some superior holder, on account of land or premises, or for yearly direct taxes (imperial, provincial, or local), in the aggregate of not less than Rs. 20, or shall be a graduate of some University,

" (*b*) That any member of the Electoral College be eligible for election therefrom into the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, or the Legislative Council of the Governor or Leutenant-Governor of the Presidency or Province in which the College is situated ; and any member so elected shall not vacate his seat upon the College,

" (*c*) That the Electoral College be elected territorially every three years, and hold its sessions in the city which is the seat of Government in each Presidency or Province, and that its membership be at the rate of 20 per million inhabitants of its respective Presidency or Province,

" (*d*) That all elections shall be conduted by ballot,

" (*e*) That each territorial member thereon shall sit for some specified division, or the specified portion of some division as provided for in shedule A annexed hereto,

" (*f*) That vacancies caused thereon, within the period of the Session of the Electoral College, whether by death, by resignation, or by whatever other cause, be as speedily as possible filled up by a territorial election in that particular division, or portion of division, of the Presidency for which the member causing such vacancy was originally elected,

"(*g*) That every member newly elected to fill any such vacancy as above enumerated shall fill it only for such unexpired portion of time as may remain to the whole Electoral College before its dissolution as a body,

"(*h*) That a vacancy caused for any of the above reasons amongst the co-opted members shall be filled up by co-option, and such members so elected shall sit for the period defined in the immediately preceding paragraph,

"(*i*) That no member of the Electoral College receive any salary, or remuneration, in virtue of, or in connection with, such membership; but every member shall be entitled to receive his travelling expenses in connection therewith from the Government.

"With a view to the protection of the interests of minorities the elections to the respective Electoral Colleges should be as follows :—

"(*a*) That four-fifths of the College be elected territorially.

"(*b*) That the remaining one-fifth be elected by co-option by the elected four-fifths; provided always that this co-option be so exercised as to ensure upon the total strength of the College a minimum representation of (say) one-tenth Mahomedan, one-twentieth European, and one-twentieth Eurasian.

"(*Example* :— "If the total strength of the College be, say 500 then there shall be elected territorially four-fifths, or ... 400
Who shall elect by co-option one-fifth, or 100–500

"Supposing that among the 400 already elected there are only 30 Mahomedans, 20 Europeans, and 7 Eurasians, then by co-option there shall be elected at least 20 Mahomedans, at least 5 Europeans, and at least 18 Eurasians. This limitation on co-option would only exist when the fixed minimum number of Europeans, Mahomedans, and Eurasians has not been, respectively, elected territorially.)"

Judging from material placed before me, it has seemed to me that it would be wiser, in drafting this measure, in view of the Clause of the Resolution of 1886, quoted above, to provide for the electing body for Provincial Councils being composed of members of the various public bodies set out in the Section, (2) now under consideration. One reason for that, is that, in introducing *qnasi* representative institutions into India you would, by this course, be proceeding along the line of least resistance and be preserving a continuity of the policy introduced by Lord Mayo and continued by each of his successors in the Governor-

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Generalship. Public opinion in India, too, so far as I have been able to gather it from the newspapers, seems to me to be more in favour of the public bodies becoming the constituency than of the Electoral Colleges, Should the Congress approve the latter system I shall, of course, draft the Bill accordingly.

Sub-section of this Section provides that elected members shall be named for some division or part of a division of a Presidency or Province.

(13) Section 25 makes provision for the necessary arrangments for the (moth-eaten) calling together of the Councils after they will have received the sanction of the Queen Victoria, and on that sanction being (moth-eaten) in India.

(14) Certain schedules will be rejected and as they will be based upon the provision of the Bill, they cannot, at present, be indicated even in skeleton form."[6]

Charles Bradlaugh, attended the Fifth Session of the National Congress in December, 1889 and took part in its deliberations.[7] The National Congress adopted the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils. It also requested, " that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., with the respectful request of the Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons."[8]

" (1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist espectively of members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected not more than one-fourth to sit *exofficio* and the rest to be nominated by Government.

(2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units for electoral purposes.

(3) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.

6. *The Hyderabad Record*, 30 October 1889. *Note* : As far a I know, this draft Bill has not been published in any book.

7. Bradlaugh, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-190.

8. Nateson, *National Congress, Fifth Sessioa*, Poona, 1889, Part B. pp. 17 and 21.

(4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(5) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Impetrial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five million of the total populations of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bear to its total populations. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(6) All elections to be by ballot."[9]

It also said that " an address be presented to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P. on behalf of this Congress here assembled and that Messrs. Adam, Pheroz Shah Mehta and W. C. Bannerjee are appointed a Committee to settle the wording of the said address."[10]

The Congress considered the draft Bill " recently introduced into the Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh entitled, an Act to amend the Indian Council Act of 1861 " and approved the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment in that reform, in the administration of India, for which it has been agitating and humbly prays the House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to ass the same into law; and further that its President, Mr. Pheroz Shah Mehta, is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation thereto in due course.[11]

In his speech delivered in the session of the Congress, Bradlaugh said, ' it will be my duty, as it is my right, to present to Parliament directly I get back on the very first day of its opening, the claim you

9. Nateson, *op. cit.* pp. 17, 21.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
11. *Ibid.*

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make to have a Bill considered (Cheers). On the second day the Bill will be introduced '.[12]

Referring to the growth of the Congress,he expressed, " It is said there are many who stood aloof from this movement. But on looking at you my wonder is that in its infancy so many have joined it (Laughter and Cheers). It is said that there are influential men of this party or that who have not yet come in but the sun's rays grow as the sun rises (Cheers). *You are the dawn.*[13] I see the day and do not count the rays which are yet below the horizon. I count that the gliding of the clouds...[14]

In view of the discussion of this Bill by the Parliament on 16th April, 1889, one of the correspondents of the Pall Mall Gazette called upon Bradlaugh at his apartment in St. John's Wood; and found him fresh and genial, in spite of the fact that Bradlaugh had been engaged at St. Stephen's till the early hours of morning.[15]

The interview is as interesting and important, as it throws much light on the Bill. At the same time it speaks volumes on Bradlaugh's devotion to the Indian cause. Hence we quote it *in extenso* for the interest of our readers :—

" What is the state of affairs Mr. Bradlaugh, with regard to your resolution ?"

" Well, I am rather glad that you have called this morning, because I made a considerable modification in the notice I placed on the order-book about India. I obtained the other day first place in the ballot for Tuesday, April 16, and gave notice, in the terms of my motion of last session for an inquiry ; but, after consultation with the friends of India in London, it has been deemed advisable to present to the House some clear issues which, we think, it may fairly decide without waiting for an inquiry which would, of course, have delayed the matter for a year, at any rate. My motion therefore stands as follows ":—

" East India (Grievances of Natives):—To call attention to certain grievances of the native population of India ; and to move that, in the opinion of this House, the time has come for another step to be taken in the policy of extending self-government in India, whereby natives of India of capacity, of influence, of education, shall be able to take a still wider share in the administration of the public affairs of their own country."

12. Bradlaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
13. Italics are mine. Mark the prophetic words.
14. Bradlaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
15. *Vide, The Hyderabad Record*, 1 May 1889.

"That, to secure this end, it is desirable that the Supreme and Legislative Councils should be enlarged in numbers and reformed as to procedure.

"That a moiety of the members of such Council should be elected by constituencies which shall include Indians of positions of specified educational attainments of members of municipal and other bodies, of European and Indian Chambers of Commerce, and the like."

"That to the enlarged Councils be given the right of questioning the authorities on matters of public interest, the discussion of the respective Budgets, and the initiation of such legislation as shall not first deal with the foreign policy, or, second, affect the finances of the Empire."

"And there being a general agreement among Europeans, both official and non-official, and Indians of all classes, as to the reforms which should be granted that the Secretary of State for India should take such steps as will enable the House to consider a measure embodying their opinions."

"This avoids the objections," Mr. Bradlaugh continued, "which I believed are entertained by eminent politicians on both sides of the House to the appointment of a Royal Commission, which they think might be taken as clashing with or superseding, or at any rate embarrassing the exercises of the viceregal authority. My motion will be seconded by Mr. W. B. McLaren, M.P., for the crew division; and several members have intimated their intention to speak upon it."

"But is not the 16th of April dangerously close to Easter, Mr. Bradlaugh."

"Your observation is a fair one, and the night is awkward; as the House usually adjourns for the Easter holidays on Tuesday; but even with my luck it is not easy to choose first places; and if the advocates of Women Suffrage are accurate in their supposition that Mr. Smith will not adjourn unitl the second reading of the Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill, which stands first for second reading of the following day, has been discussed, that the Indian motion is perfectly safe."

"Why have you adopted the particular propositions contained in your motion?"

"I have," replied Mr. Bradlaugh, with a twinkling eye which suggested that he knew more than he cared to say, "I have every reason to believe that in the first and second paragraphs of my resolution there

is practically a concurrence of the highest opinion in its favour. Sir W. Hunter and Sir Richard Garth have distinctly expressed themselves in print to this effect. Judging from the public utterances of the Marquis of Ripon, he is likely to strongly support it. The authorised report of Lord Dufferin's speech at Calcutta—I don't mean the mangled version of it which was telegraphed to the *Times*—shows that the late Viceroy must have submitted some such scheme to Lord Cross. There will be more difficulty probably on the question of whether a moiety of the members of the Council shall be elected; but no reform would be satisfactory which did not concede this to the natives of India."

"What is meant, Mr. Bradlaugh, by Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils?"

"The Supreme Legislative Council would mean the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India, and there are now five Provincial Legislative Councils—the last one which was created"—here. Mr. Bradlaugh sought and referred to a Blue-book—"in January, 1887, being for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh."

"Do you move in this matter with any authority from the natives of India?"

"On that I can give you the easiest answer by referring you to the speech of Mr. Bannerjee, one of the most eminent amongst Indian reformers, who, speaking at the Great Indian National Congress at Allahabad, made the following reference to myself; 'I know I speak the sense of this vast assembly when I saw that we are unfeignedly grateful to Mr. Bradlaugh for his masterly and able advocacy of our cause (cheers), and we hope that he will be pleased to help us in the future in the investigation of the resolution which I have submitted to you. (Cheers)'. That is from the *Hindu* of January 9, 1889; and in November last Mr. Eardley Norton, speaking at a public meeting over which Raja Rama Raw presided, said, 'I am proud of Mr. Bradlaugh's co-operation, because I am proud to associate with an honest and fearless man. (Loud cheers). I am proud to work, no matter how humbly with one who has never served a hair's breath from allegiance to the people's cause (cheers)".

"Does the cause of reform in India arouse much public interest in this country?"

Note: Read also "William Digby's interview with Gladstone" and his elucidations on the Draft Bill. *Vide, The Hyderabad Record*, 14 June 1889.

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"Well, I can assure you that very strong feeling is manifested in the country on the Indian question as is fairly shown by the great meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where, without any attraction of great names, I addressed the largest meeting which has yet gathered in the Tyneside Theatre, every person paying for admission. The subject was, 'Our Empire in India how we govern the natives, and how we ought to govern them'. I may add that Indians are excessively fortunate in their present agency in this country, Mr. William Digby, C.I.E. being thoroughly earnest and remarkably well-informed."

It goes to the credit of Charles Bradlaugh and the Congress that their efforts paved the way for the passing of the Council Act of 1892, though it fell far short of their expectation.

The untimely death of Charles Bradlaugh came as a shock to the people of India. The Congress passed a resolution of condolence, recounting his magnificent services to India. A copy of the resolution signed by the President of the Congress was sent to Mrs. Charles Bradlaugh.[16]

16. *Vide*, Natesan, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

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LORD CURZON'S DESPATCH OF JANUARY 8, 1903 : ITS IMPACT ON HIS TIBETAN POLICY

Dr. P. L. Mehra

1. *Introductory :*

In the evolution of his policy towards Tibet which culminated in the well-known Younghusband Expedition, and the conclusion of the Lhasa Convention,[1] Lord Curzon's despatch of January 8, 1903, marks a crucial turning-point. For here, in forceful language, the Viceroy puts forth his major objectives and maps out his plans to accomplish them. While, on surface, he swears loyalty to his political masters in England he does not hesitate to throw broad enough hints that he would defy the Home authorities, if the interests of the Government of India were imperilled seriously ! In so doing, the Indian potentate lays bare the true motives and motivations that inspired his policy—and not towards Tibet alone—and the methods that he invariably employed to coax and cajole Whitehall into accepting his dictates. The despatch of January 8, ttherefore, has its import not only in that it affords a clearer definition of the policy towards Lhasa, but as typical of Lord Curzon's general approach to problems in which his views were at variance with the authorities in London.

Another important fact that emerges is that the despatch reveals, in embryonic form it is true, the outlines which were to assume their ultimate consummation in an armed expedition wending its way to the seat of the Dalai's Government, to dictate terms of peace under the shadow of the golden Potala. For through its closely reasoned pages, and in no uncertain terms, the Viceroy impressed upon the Home authorities the urgency of seizing upon the gains which had accrued from the earlier ' mission ' of John Claude White, the then Political Officer in Sikkim, his fears that rumours of a Russo-Chinese deal on Tibet had some solid substance and his conviction that " some sort " of a relationship existed between Russia and Tibet. Hence the immediate necessity for a ' conference ' with the Chinese—but the venue

1. For the entire period see the author's *The Younghusband Expedition, an interpretation*, a doctoral dissertation presented to the John Hopkins University, in Baltimore (Md. in 1954 ; a part summary appeared under the same title, in the *JIH*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 201-28.

was to be Lhasa, and a representative of the Tibetan Government was to be associated with the discussions! And, as he conceived it, the negotiations were to be confined not merely to frontier disputes, grazing rights or commercial relations, but the entire gambit, as Lord Curzon puts it, of 'our future political relations' with Tibet (and China) and the degree to which the influence of another great Power (Czarist Russia) could be allowed, 'for the first time', in the affairs of Imperial India's weak, insignificant and lama-ridden neighbour![2]

2. *The Background:*

By the close of 1902 the British position *vis-a-vis* Tibet was tending to stiffen, and despite earlier protestations, HMG had come round to accept Lord Curzon's proposal that the Political Officer in Sikkim should tour that "protected" state's common border with Tibet. The tour, conducted with an armed escort, was designed to "assert our rights in respect of the boundary," to demarcate it, and to remove "all Tibetan guards and officials" from this side of the frontier.[3] This "assertion of authority" was deemed necessary by the Viceroy who had been left singularly unimpressed by Russian or Chinese protestations that there was no secret deal on Tibet.[4] Even Count Lamsdorff's assurances that the Buriat Dorjieff's "missions" were the most innocuous—his interests being described as religious or even geographic—had not carried conviction with him.[5] And as for the China of the immediate post-Boxer Rebellion period, her final collapse appeared to be so imminent that flat denials of the "sale" of Tibet to the Colossus from the North seemed only to confirm the suspicions aroused.

Another development in 1902 whose import for Tibet was not inconsiderable, though indirect, was the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. With Europe neatly lined up in its Triple and Dual Alli ances, the British had for sometime felt their "splendid isolation" increasingly impracticable. One need only recall the episode of the

2. For Russian activities in Tibet, during this period, see the author's "Tibet and Russian Intrigue," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (London, vol. XLV, pt. 1 (Jan. 1958), pp. 28-42.

3. Among other duties assigned to Mr. J. Claude White, the Political Officer, were these: to make, as far as possible, a scientific survey of the frontier on both sides, to take a complete set of photographs, and "to add to our present knowledge of the natural history of the region". *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, Annexure 8, Enclo. 16, in No. 66, pp. 170-72. For White's Report see *Ibid.*, Annexure 2, pp. 167-172.

4. The "apocryphal" text of the published Agreement, the Chinese Minister in St. Petersburg assured Sir. C. Scott (the British Ambassador), indeed "its very form and wording" showed that it could not be of Chinese origin, *Ibid.*, No. 57, p. 145.

5. *Ibid.*, Nos. 35 and 36, pp. 116-117, on one occasion Lamsdorff had described Dorjieff as "a member of the Russian Geographical Society," while on another he had pointed out that the Geographical Society "took an interest in his visit."

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Kruger telegram to show how difficult the position could become.[6] The sigificance of the new alignment, however, lay not only in that it was between a Western and an Asian nation but that " it arose out of the abortive attempts to procure an understanding between England and Germany on the one hand, and between Russia and Japan on the other."[7] Hailed as an historic event which marked a milestone in the development of Japan as a World Power, it also put England " in a better position " to watch her Indian frontiers.[8] Again, this alliance by making a Russo-Japanese conflict well-nigh inevitable severely limited Russia's ability to influence events in that direction.

Meantime the Wai-Wu-Pai, the Chinese Foreign Office, was showing a keener interest in settling the Tibetan problem. The appointment of a new Chinese Resident in Lhasa was announced early in December, 1902, and he was instructed to proceed post-haste to negotiate, " in an amicable spirit," with Mr. White. Yu T'ai, the new incumbent, was considered " especially suitable," owing to his previous experience in Mongolia, for dealing with the Tibetans.[9] The Secretary of State for India, who viewed this appointment as indicative of the fact that China thus " implicitly " accepted responsibility for the affairs of Tibet, had asked the Viceroy for his views as to whether " trade and general relations " should be included among the subjects for negotiation, and whether a Tibetan representative should be associated with these discussions.[10] It was in response to this query from London that the Viceroy penned his despatch of January 8, 1903, outlining in considerable detail, his analysis of the Tibetan situation. This long and laboured despatch—running into more than six pages of close print, with 28 enclosures and 19 annexures—rather well-known, marks the opening of a new phase in the Tibetan question, and is deserving of close scrutiny.

6. The Boer War was making serious drains on the British fighting forces. Besides, it provided France, Germany and Russia with a focal point against the " perfidious Albion." The British Cabinet feared lest Lord Curzon's policies in Tibet, or in the Persian Gulf, should afford these powers another opportunity of " coming together. " See Ronaldshay, *Life of Lord Curzon* (London, 1927), vol. II, p. 207 and William L. Langer, *Diplomacy of Imperialism*, (New York, 1935, vol, II.

7. The words are of the Swedish geopolitician Kjellen, quoted in A. F. Pribram, *England and the International Policy of the European Great Powers*, 1871-1914 (Oxford, 1931), p. 67. For the Anglo-Japanese Alliance see Harold M. Vinacke, *A History of the Far East in Modern Times* (New York, 1950,), pp. 175-82.

8. " By co-operating with Japan to protect her rights in China, (England) was in a better position to watch her Indian frontiers, " Wei Kuo Lee, *Tibet in Modern World Politics*, 1774-1922 (New York, 1931), p. 28.

9. For Yu T'ai's appointment see Tibet papers, *op. cit.*, no. 59, p. 146, for his instructions, *Ibid.*, no. 60, pp. 146-47. Yu T'ai, who was the brother of Shens Tai, the Chinese negotiator of the 1890 Convention regarding Tibet, very much looked toward to completing his brother's work. For his " plans " see *Ibid.*, no. 67, p. 177.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 61, p. 148.

8. *The Despatch of January* 8, 1908[11]:

Lord Curzon began by reviewing the situation from the middle of 1901, when he had reported his twice-repeated failure—the third attempt was then being made—to get into personal touch with the Dalai Lama, and had suggested "more practical measures." The Secretary of State had, however, over-ruled him and sounded a warning against "any precipitate action." The next move was the Governor-General's proposal that the Political Officer, accompanied by an armed escort, should conduct a tour along the frontier. This "local action" had been agreed to and Mr. White[12] had, indeed, conducted his mission in the previous summer, with "expedition and success." The Tibetans on this side of Giaogong had been asked to withdraw, and the discovery was made that the grazing rights (of the Tibetans) on the Sikkim side were "balanced by similar rights" which the Sikkimese enjoyed across the border.

Apart from these "successes," Mr. White's visit, the Viceroy continued, had caused a flutter in the Tibetan and Chinese dovecots. Some Tibetan officials, from the Tashi Lhunpo Monastery had, in fact, called on the Political Officer volunteering to show him the boundary.[13] More important, the Imperial Amban at Lhasa had written to the Viceroy inquiring "the object and reason" of these "proceedings,"[14] and a certain Mr. Ho Kuang-hsi, a Chinese Prefect, was dispatched to the border to meet Mr. White, along with a Captain Parr who was the (Chinese) Customs Commissioner at Yatung. The projected meeting never took place for Mr. Ho was first taken ill and later recalled to Lhasa, for "important special business," or, as idle tongues wagged, owing to a difference of opinion between the Amban and his associates.[15] And now had come the news of the Chinese sending a new Amban for talks on the frontier problems. What was to be the British attitude?

Before charting his new course of action the Viceroy wanted to remind the Secretary of two aspects of the question which needed emphasis.

Firstly, though White's mission was crowned with "entire success," and he had obtained "useful information," the result had not been "materially" to improve "our position" on the border, or to effect

11. *Ibid.*, No. 66, pp. 150-56. The enclosures and annexures accompanying the despatch cover pp. 157-77.

12. For Mr. White's report see *Ibid.*, Annexure 2, pp. 167-72.

13. *Ibid.*, Annexure in Encl. 3, in no. 66, p. 158.

14. The Imperial Amban Yu's letter to the Viceroy was dated July 8, 1902. See *Ibid.*, Annexure in Encl. 5, pp. 159-60; for the Viceroy's reply, Annexure in Encl. 11, pp. 162-68.

15. For Parr's and Ho's letters see *Ibid.*, Annexures 3 and 4 in Encl. 7, p. 161, and Annexure 2 in Encl. 22, pp. 176-77.

anything more than a timely assertion of British authority. The main advantage, the Viceroy thought, had been in the fear inspired among the Tibetans that this was only a prelude to some further movement. It was necessary that this advantage should not be sacrificed, and this could be done only if " we are prepared to assume a minatory tone and to threaten Tibet with a further advance," unless indeed she revised her policy of " obstinate inaction."

Secondly, persistent rumours of a Russo-Chinese deal on Tibet and his fear that "some sort of relation" existed between Russia and Tibet.[16] This, in the Viceroy's opinion, was bound to invest the forthcoming negotiations with considerable importance, for they would involve not only " the question of our entire future political relations " with Tibet, but also " the degree to which we can permit the influence of another great Power " to be exercised, for the first time in that country's history. For Tibet's relations, in the past, had always been with China, the " suzerain Power," Nepal, or the British in India and Tibetan exclusion had been tolerated because it had carried with it " no element of political or military danger."

Taking these factors into consideration the Viceroy proposed that the Chinese invitation to a conference should be accepted subject to two over-riding proviso : that the meeting be held at Lhasa and that a representative of the Tibetan Government should be associated with the discussions.[17] This was the only way, he felt, whereby " the wall of Tibetan impassivity and obstruction " will be broken.

The rest of this closely reasoned despatch is concerned with convincing the Home authorities that there was " nothing revolutionary " about his proposals. Lord Curzon indeed sought to show, by digging up a British Minister Wade's correspondence, that a similar proposal had been made as early as 1874[18] and that his present suggestion was no more

16. It may be recalled here that the British attitude towards Tibet was that while that country was subordinate to China and her foreign relations were conducted by the latter, she yet was a recognisable entity in her own right. Lord Curzon's policy to deal directly with Tibet had been endorsed by HMG only after the inordinate delay and difficulty of getting anything done through China became apparent. The distincton between Chinese suzerainty, and not sovereignty, in Tibet had not yet crystallised.

17. The Despatch refers to " circumstantial evidence " derived from a variety of quarters, and all " pointing in the same direction, " which he had submitted to HMG. Printed records do not substantiate this reference.

18. Mr. (later Sir) T. Wade was British Minister in China. In a despatch, dated July 14, 1874, to Earl Granville, then Foreign Secretary, Mr. Wade said, " If the trade (*i.e.* between India and Tibet) be worth the effort, I think it might possibly be opened were a mixed official and commercial mission pushed forward without reference it the Court of Peking...and if that Mission were authorised in the first instance to spend money rather freely." Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, No. 66, p. 154.

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than the "revival" of the policy underlying the abandoned Colman Macaulay Mission of the mid-eighties.[19] Nor indeed should the bogey of Chinese suzerainty deter them,

> "We regard the so-called suzerainty of China over Tibet as constitutional fiction—a political affectation which has only been maintained because of its convenience to both parties. China is always ready to break down the barriers of ignorance and obstruction and to open Tibet to the civilizing influence of trade, but her pious wishes are defeated by the short-sighted stupidity of the Lamas. In the same way Tibet is only too anxious to meet our advances, but she is prevented from doing so by the despotic veto of the suzerain. This solemn farce has been re-enacted with a frequence that seems never to deprive it of its attractions or its power to impose."

The Viceroy closed by elaborating some parts of his proposal and by holding out threats! He explained that the British Commercial Mission to Lhasa, that he was suggesting, must be accompanied by an armed escort: "to overawe opposition" on the way and to ensure its safety while in Lhasa; that assurances could be held out to the Chinese and the Tibetans that our only objective was to establish "those amicable and friendly relations and means of commerce" that ought to subsist between adjacent and friendly powers;[20] that a policy of the closest collaboration with Nepal should be followed for she also frelt endangered in much the same way as the Government of India, and her ruler was very well disposed to co-operation.[21] As for his threats he reminded the Home authorities that any Government, or country in the Empire, had a right to protect its own interests and that if these were imperilled seriously, "as we hold ours to be," the Government of India, by the fundamental law of survival, "would have to take steps to avert these dangers." In questions of this nature, he had no doubt, the opinions of the Government of India "are entitled to carry weight" with HMG. And if his warning was not heeded now, the dangerous situation might "attain to menacing dimensions."

19. ".....we regard it as a grave misfortune" that the Macaulay Mission was abandoned, "by the exigencies of political considerations that had not the remotest connection with Tibet." *Loc. cit.*

20. Sir Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, (London, 1910), p. 8, later maintained that the object of his Mission was "to regularise and humanise" pacific intercourse between India and Tibet, and put their relationship "upon a business-like and permanently satisfactory footing."

21. Encl. 23 in No. 66, p. 177, is the text of a letter from the Nepalese Prime Minister who curiously ends by hoping to "realise all those expectations which the association with a power like that of England may naturally raise in our minds." Expectations!

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4. *Conclusion* :

Critics have charged Lord Curzon with inconsistency and rhetoric.[22] It has been held that his gibe at China, being unable to exercise her boasted rights of suzerainty was really unnecessary, for Tibet had never been too anxious to meet the British demands for trade rights anyway. Curzon's language was indeed strong, hence perhaps rhetorical, but that he was inconsistent would not seem to hold water. In referring to China his purpose was not to demonstrate, as Dr. Lee would have us believe, that she was the real foe of British trade, but to point out " the solemn farce " which, with Tibet as a partner, she had enacted with such annoying frequency. The real foe to British trade was neither China nor Tibet singly, but the vicious halo which surrounded the land of the Lamas, a halo which the Tibetans would not break and which the Chinese were either unwilling, or unable to. The halo had deepened and the mystery darkened with the webs woven by Dorjieff's flirtations and the persistent rumous of a Russo-Chinese deal. And Curzon seemed to ask himself repeatedly, had Russia, China and Tibet joined hands behind his back ?

The real " accusation " against Curzon is not one of rhetoric, or inconsistency, but the brazen-facedness and ill-concealed contempt with which he seemed to treat both China and Tibet. And there indeed, why should the Baron of Kedleston alone be condemned ? For, however strong one's feelings may be, and however loud the protestations about the equal rights of " Small " and " Great " Powers, one often wonders if the fifty odd years that separate these events from our own day have changed matters in any apprciable degree. Did not Tibet enjoy the privilege of being bordered by a " Great " and " Civilized " Power ? Had she not proved stupidly obstinate in refusing that Power's hand for " amicable and friendly relations—and means of commerce ? " Indeed, once we accept Lord Curzon's premise, his whole case stands thoroughly irrefutable.

It is interesting to recall that one of the Powers which, later, was to protest against Curzon's description of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, being no more than " a constitutional fiction and a political affectation," was the United States. Its Ambassador to the Court of St. James was to remind HMG that thrice in recent years—in the Chefoo Convention of 1876, in the Peking Convention of 1886 and in the Calcutta Convention of 1890—they had recognised Chinese sovereignty by negotiating with the Chinese Government on questions relating to Tibet and that since then the Chinese had waived none of those rights.[23]

22. Lee *op. cit.*, pp. 85-6.

23. *Department of State Archives*, Great Britain Instructions, vol. 84, pp. 681-89, No. 1455, Hay to Choate, June 3, 1904.

It is worth noting that at the end of World War II, when the Nationalist Government of China showed again some brief spurts of activity in Tibet, the United States reaffirmed its view that Tibet was a part of China. This was to tie Washington's hands when, later, the Tibetans appealed for support against the Chinese Reds.

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HOW THE FIRST SPLIT CAME IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DR. NANDA LAL CHATTERJI

"BLOW up, if everything else fails." That is said to have been the hisoric telegram which the Calcutta headquarters of the Congress Extremist Party sent to is delegates on their way to Surat on the eve of the twenty-third session of the Indian National Congress held in that city in 1907. The message heralded the most regrettable episode in the history of the Congress, the first parting of ways among the Congress leaders at Surat amidst scenes of tumultuous and unedifying violence and disorder. One can hardly realise today that the Congress was nearly doomed to death at this ill-fated session, but the Congress was fated not to die, and so, far from being its grave, Surat marked a new milestone in the evolution of India's national movement. At this great hour of the fulfilment of the Congress movement, the story of the fateful Surat imbroglio over which historians so far thought it best to throw a pall needs recapitulation only to bring home to the present-day reader its implications, no less than its momentous consequences to India's national struggle.

For a full understanding of the genesis of the Surat split, it is necessary to review the circumstances which brought a Left Wing into existence inside the Congress. The first few years of the Congress were uneventful, and its sessions were held in peace and amity. The Congress leaders were at first unanimous in their unswerving faith in British liberalism, and they gave expression to this year after year with a patienc and moderation which might appear pathetice today. They proclaimed in no uncertain terms that they were loyal to the backbone, and that they harboured no notions of subverting the British power in India. This angelic patience was, however, slightly shaken when Charles Bradlaugh failed on behalf of the Congress to secure in 1890 the Parliament's sanction to his proposed measure of liberal reforms for India. The Act of 1892 was a sham, both in form and in content, and it naturally failed to reinforce the waning confidence of some of the Congress leaders in the sense of British justice. And, so far as the other demands of the Congress were concerned, not even a formal notice was taken of any one of them by the Government. The Congress was officially referred to as a

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" microscopic minority." A feeling thus naturally grew up that Britain, despite her promises and assurances, was not really inclined to grant any substantial power to the Indian people.

The apathy and contempt with which the Government treated the Congress became more and more pronounced, and official spite could scarcely be concealed during the weak rule of Lord Elgin, when the bureaucracy openly showed its opposition to the slightest modification of its vested rights and privileges. When Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon, the position of the Congress became all the more untenable, and Lord Curzon's reactionary policy drove discontent underground. The Calcutta Corporation Act, the Official Secrets Act, the Indian Universities Act, and last of all the Partition of Bengal came one after another as so many hammer-blows at the Congress, and the bulk of its younger adherents lost all faith in its present " Mendicant Policy."

The inevitable result of discontent inside the Congress was, the division of the movement into two camps, the so-called Moderates and the so-called Extremists. This bifurcation could be felt for the first time at the Benares session of 1905, but it assumed the proportions of an open cleavage in the stormy Calcutta session of 1906, when a small body of these Extremist finding themselves powerless against the majority walked out of the Pandal in a spirit of exasperation, and as a protest against the begging spirit of the Moderates. An open split was, however, temporarily averted by the tact and moderation of the President Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India. Four important resolutions which marked the spirit of the times, and yet sought to restrict the Congress agitation within constitutional limits,, were passed on self-government on the colonial lines, National education Swadeshi and Boycott of foreign goods. Even the word Swaraj was for the first time used by the President in his address as a discreet concession to the extremist sentiment.

The Extremist, however, were not satisfied and they continued all through 1907 a country-wide agitation against the present Congress policy from the press and the platform, and preached the " utter futility " of all co-operation with the British Government. The next Congress session was to have been held at Nagpur, but as there were some serious local disputes, the All-India Congress Committee decided to hold the session at Surat. In the month of November it was rumoured that the four new resolutions of the preceding session might be excluded in the Surat session. This rumour kept circulating till the 25th December when the Congress delegates were already assembled at Surat. This made the Extremists under the leadership of Mr. Tilak highly excited, and they prepared for a trial of strength. It was indeed true that many senior Moderate leaders regarded their position

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as somewhat compromised by these resolutions, and they also were waiting for an opportunity for having the goal and technique of the Congress movement revised.

The Bombay Moderates headed by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had already succeeded in removing the items of Boycott and National Education from the programme of the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Surat in April last. The Extremist had therefore reason to suspect that the same thing might happen in the Congress session as well. The Reception Committee was composed mostly of Sir Pherozeshah's followers, and Mr. Gokhale, another Moderate stalwart, had no difficulty in persuading the Committee to nominate Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, a Moderate again, to the office of the President, and reject the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai, an Extremist, on the ground that "we cannot afford to flout the Government at this stage, for the authorities would throttle our movement in no time." This was considered to be an insult to the Extremist section and Dr. Ghosh is stated to have received numerous telegrams from different parts of the country asking him to relinquish the honour in favour of Lala Lajpat Rai. But, Dr. Ghosh was not allowed by the Moderates to retire, and Lala Lajpat Rai publicly declined the honour in order to get out of an extremely awkward honour for himself. Having secured a President of their own choice, the Moderates had won the first round of the fight, and so the Extremists came to Surat in full strength ready for a final showdown.

For the first time in Congress history, the Extremists set up a separate camp of their own away from the main Congress camp where the Moderates congregated. Here the Extremist leaders like Tilak, Khaparde and Aurobindo Ghosh daily harangued their followers about the suspicious move of the Moderates, and thereby stirred up their feelings against the autocracy of the Moderate High Command. They became a pledge-bound party to vote against the Moderates in all matters of policy. The Moderates alleged that among the Extremist delegates were gymnastic teachers, athletes, and sturdy labourers from factories, who went about with heavy stikes. The Moderate high-brows evidently did not like the presence of uneducated and burly factory workers as fellow delegates. The Extremist delegates numbered over 500, while the total number of the delegates was about 1200. Thus, the moderates had a substantial majority—a fact which further exasperated the Extremists.

If the extremists were well organised, the Moderates were no less so. While the conduct of the Extremists was certainly impetuous, the attitude of the Moderates was equally provocative. If the Extremists had brought some people armed with lathis, the Reception Committee

too imported Bohra Muslim goondas in and around the Pandal, and these, it may be added, were all armed with heavy sticks. The police also seems to have been long ready under requisition. Inflammatory leaflets in Gujarati asking the Gujarati people to teach a lesson to the leader from Maharashtra, Mr. Tilak, were widely distributed in the city, and even inside the Pandal. The connivances of the Moderates was not unjustly suspected.

The most objectionable thing which the Moderates did was the withholding of the draft resolutions from the Extremists till the actual session. No copy was given to the Extremists, even though a Bombay paper published the resolutions on the 26th. That showed that the withholding of a copy from Mr. Tilak could hardly have been unpremeditated. The draft resolutions were also so worded as to show that the Moderates wished to go back from the position taken in the Calcutta session. The contention of the Moderates that the changes were more verbal than real was unconvincing. A summary list which was alone published a few days before the session did not mention Self-Government, Boycott and National Education. The omission appeared to be significant. The Extremists took exception to another move on the part of the Moderates. A Draft Constitution of the Congress, prepared by Mr. Gokhale, and published a day or two earlier, showed that the Moderates were planning to oust all those from the Congress who did not see eye to eye with them in matters of policy. Even this Draft was allowed to reach Mr. Tilak only on the morning of 25th. The goal of the Congress was stated therein : " The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire." Mr. Tilak, at once announced that the proposed constitution was a sinister attempt to tamper with the goal of self-government on the lines of self-governing colonies, as settled at Calcutta, and to shut out the Extremists from the Congress by making the acceptance of this new creed a condition of Congress membership.

On the 24th, the Extremists held a conference of their own under the presidentship of Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, and decided that their party should frustrate the imminent retrogression of the Congress by all constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the President, if necessary. On the morning of 26th, the Extremists led by Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, and Aurobindo Ghosh made the last attempt to obtain from the Moderates an assurance that the *status quo* would be maintained, but the attempt proved abortive. The response from Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji was non-commital, and Mr. Malviya Chairman of the Reception Committee, managed to avoid all contacts with the Extremist deputationists. It was clear that the Moderates wanted no compromise, for they were confident of their majority. It looked as if a fight was

inevitable, and the fight came the same afternoon when the twenty-third Congress session opened in the old historic French Garden of Surat.

The Pandal, with seating capacity for over 7,000, was packed when the proceedings commenced amidst a scene of excitement. The excitement grew when the President-elect, Dr. Ghosh, was welcomed with cheering, mingled with the shouts of " Shame " from the Extremist ranks. The address of Mr. Malviya, roused the fire of the Extremists who raised cries of " No, No," and frequently interrupted him, whenever they heard him talk about moderation. When Dewan Bahadur Ambalal proposed Dr. Ghosh as President, there were again cries of " No, No." And, when the old veteran of the Congress Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, rose to second, hooting became more intense. Mr. Banerjea's eloquence proved to be of no effect, and even though he made repeated attempts to raise his powerful voice not a word could be audible above the noisy uproar. The Chairman had then to suspend the session for the day. It is strange that no reconciliation was seriously attempted after the adjournment, and when on the next morning Mr. Tilak sought an honourable compromise, the negotiations again proved abortive.

The Congress met again next day. But, before the proceedings commenced, Mr. Tilak sent a message to the Chairman asking for permission to move an adjournment after the election of the President was seconded, but received no reply even after repeated reminders. The refusal to take notice of Mr. Tilak's request was not only discourteous, but was also unconstitutional. The adjournment motion could have been put before the house, and could also have been rejected by the majority. Even if the Chairman wanted to overrule the motion, he should have done so publicly. There was no need to sit tight over Mr. Tilak's request and ignore it without reason. After Mr. Banerjea had finished his speech without the least disturbance, Mr. Tilak who thought he was allotted a seat on the platform rose to go up the platform steps. He was held back by a volunteer, but he rushed his way up, and repeatedly insisted on his right of addressing the delegates. By this time there was a general disorder. Some of the Moderates wanted Mr. Tilak to be bodily removed, and the over zealous Secretary of the Committee actually touched Mr. Tilak's person to carry out the Chairman's order. If under these circumstances, Mr. Tilak was excited and he pushed the Secretary aside, his conduct, indiscreet as it was, was hardly unjustified. The provocation offered to him and his numerous admirers was no doubt very grave, and the subsequent disorder was due as much to the obstinate behaviour of the Moderates as to the defiance of the Extremists. During the confusion a shoe hurled on to the platform struck Sir Pherozeshah on the side of the face after touching Mr. Banerjea, both of whom sat within a yard of Mr. Tilak. And when, chairs were thrown at the platform, some extremists rushed to the rescue

of Mr. Tilak. The confusion became still more serious, when sticks were brandished and hurled at the platform, and disorderly blows were exchanged. No one was, however, seriously hurt. The police promptly came in, made some arrests and cleared the Pandal. Thus ended under the most painful circumstances the twenty-third session of the Congress.

The heavy Maratha chappal which hit Sir Pherozeshah and Mr. Banerjea was a symbol marking the unpleasant transition of Indian nationalism from a loyalist and upper class agitation to an extremist, middle class movement. Even in the unseemly rowdyism one can trace the birth-pangs of a new phase in Indian history—the dawn of a real nationalist movement and the rise of a revolutionary party outside the Congress. A yawning gulf separated the Moderates and the neo-nationalists whose paths lay wide apart. A split was bound to come, even if the Surat incident had not occurred. The split was norrowly averted at the Calcutta session, and it could not long have been post-poned. The Anglo-Indian Press and the bureaucracy gloated over the seeming collapse of the Congress movement, and cited the Surat fiasco as a proof of the unfitness of Indians for self-government, conveniently ignoring the fact that worse incidents had been witnessed even in the British House of Commons.

1987

GENESIS OF THE PARTITION OF BENGAL (1905)

DR. P. C. CHAKRAVARTI

WAS the partition of Bengal in 1905 motivated by administrative considerations or by political reasons? Was it just a "measure of administrative redistribution," as Valentine Chirol asserted, or was it a sinister design to curb the growing political consciousness of Bengal?

Opinions have widely differed on this question. By and large, British historians and publicists have maintained the view that the partition of Bengal was conceived and carried through to promote administrative efficiency. By and large, Indian politicians and publicists have held the contrary opinion that the motive behind the partition was political rather than administrative—that what Lord Curzon and the British Government really wanted to achieve was to weaken and break the political life of Bengal under the cover of administrative improvement.

It is true that official discussion was going on since 1892 for some sort of administrative redistribution between Bengal and Assam. A proposal was mooted in that year to transfer to Assam the South Lushai hills and the Chittagong division "as soon as the settlement questions there had been completed." There was not much of difference of opinion regarding the transfer of the Lushai hills, but on the question of the transfer of the Chittagong division official views seemed to be sharply divided.

In January, 1896, the Government of India referred the question to the Governments of Bengal and Assam for opinion[1] The Government of Bengal sent its reply on the 18th of August, but along with the reply it forwarded a number of memorials, addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India by the residents of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tipperah, and by the British Indian Association, the Indian Association and the East Bengal Association protesting against the proposed change.

1. *Home Department*, letter dated 18 January 1896.

In January, 1897, Mr. (later Sir) Henry Cotton, who had succeeded Sir William Ward as the Chief Commissioner of Assam for two months, was asked to give his opinion on this debated question; and in one of the ablest minutes ever written on the subject, Cotton expressed himself unequivocally and unreservedly against the proposed transfer of the Chittagong division to Assam. 'He maintained that the administration in Assam was not so advanced as in Bengal; that the constitutional privileges exercised in Bengal are unknown in Assam; that self-government was not on the same footing in Assam as in Bengal; that the deprivation of the franchise for the election of a member in the Bengal Council would be a serious matter, and afford a just cause for complaint on the past of the electing public; that the loss of supervision of the Board of Revenue and the High Court would be a retrograde and mischievous departure; and that the work of the Bengal Government would not be seriously lightened by the transfer of Chittagong, whose capital was in every sense Calcutta, and which would, therefore, lose by its transfer to Assam, with which it was not homogeneous'.

Sir James Westland, who had served in Bengal and been for a short time Chief Commissioner of Assam, also opposed the proposal to transfer "the settled territory of Eastern Bengal" to Assam. In his view such a measure would be contrary to the natural and proper course of the development of Indian administration. He testified to the accuracy of Mr. Cotton's statement about the very elementary way in which administration was carried on in Assam and stated that the continuation of such a system of administration, suitable for "a backward province of limited area," would become impossible if Assam were brought into real intimate contact with the outer world by having added to it the interests of such districts as Chittagong or Dacca.

Other highly placed officials such as Sir Edin Collen also expressed themselves more or less on the same lines. They considered the question entirely from the administrative point of view, and were quite clear in their mind that administratively it would be an impolitic step to link up the more 'advanced' districts of Eastern Bengal with the comparatively 'backward' province of Assam. Faced with this solid volume of opinion, the Government of India determined, by the Council Order of 29 April, 1897, that the South Lushai hills should be transferred to Assam, but not the Chittagong Division.

And here the matter rested till it was revived in 1903 by Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in collaboration with Lord Curzon, the Viceroy. The revived proposal, however, took a somewhat different form than the old one; it was not merely the Chittagong division which was to be transferred to Assam, but Dacca and Mymensingh to boot. And the reasons advanced were much the same as before.

Bengal with an area of 189,000 square miles and a population of 78,493,000 inhabitants was too heavy a burden for a Lieutenant-Governor. Administrative efficiency demanded a redistribution of its boundaries.

But was that the sole or real reason for the proposed redistribution? In one of his minutes on the subject, Lord Curzon writes :[2] "Sir Andrew Fraser is very strongly in favour of the transfer. He has discussed the matter with me, and his feeling is that the influence of Eastern Bengal in the politics of the Province is out of all proportion to its real political importance, in so much that the Bengali altogether overshadows the Bihari, who is in everything save the use (or abuse) of language immeasurably his superior. Sir Andrew regards it as an object of great political and administrative importance to diminish this influence by separating one of its great centres from others. I understood Mr. Bourdillon, who took part in the discussion, to admit Sir Andrew's premises, but that he was inclined to think that the links between Calcutta and Dacca were so strong, the influence of Dacca so powerful, and the certain opposition so intense that it was doubtful whether separation was practically possible. Mr. Fuller also hesitates; but his hesitation arises from a different consideration. If Sir Andrew Fraser thinks that Dacca is too powerful to be allowed to remain a portion of Bengal, Mr. Fuller wonders whether it is not too powerful to become a portion of Assam. He realises what is probably the fact, that the enlarged transfer would mean that Assam would be annexed to Eastern Bengal rather than Eastern Bengal to Assam....."

In course of another note on the same subject, Lord Curzon approvingly refers to the reasons which actuated Sir Andrew Fraser in advocating the partition of Bengal. "There remains," he says, "an argument to which the incoming Lieutenant-Governor, Sir A. Fraser, attaches the utmost weight, and which cannot be absent from our consideration. He has represented to me that the advantage of severing these eastern districts of Bengal, which are a hot-bed of the purely Bengali movement, unfriendly if not seditious in character, and dominating the whole tone of Bengal administration, will immeasurably outweigh any possible drawbacks."

That political motives were dominant when the question of partition was revived in 1908 will also be apparent from the following note, dated 19-6-08, of A.T.A. (Arundel), a member of the Viceroy's Council. "I fully concur with the proposal," he writes, "to transfer Chittagong to Assam. It is a change which is essential to the proper development of the Assam Province. The reasons for transferring Mymensingh and Dacca are not so conclusive as in the case of Chittagong as regards

2. *Home Department Procs.*, December 1908, Nos. 140-160.

development, *but I am impressed with the political reasons for severance* which are similar to those which assign Berar to the Central Provinces and which lead me to demur to the political union of the Uriyas."

When the plan for the partition was virtually decided upon, H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, was called upon to formally communicate it to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Risley prepared the draft of that communication on the basis of Lord Curzon's own minute; but the Viceroy was taken aback when it was put up before him for approval. "I regret to say," he wrote, "that if the letter to Bengal were published in its present form, it would create aboslute consternation.....When I wrote my minute for the confidential information of my colleagues, it never occurred to me for a moment that its contents could be or would be practically reproduced to be dissected by every newspaper scribe. English or native, in Bengal. What I could safely say in the privacy of the Council Chamber is not necessarily suitable for proclamation on the house-tops."

"Secretary, in his anxiety to respect the form as well as the substance of what I wrote," he added, "has produced a draft which even my knowledge of Bengal—so much leas than his—is sufficient to tell me would be disastrous. I have therefore, revised it from beginning to end."

"Neither do I propose," he concluded, "to send a copy of my minute home.....It will be sufficient to send a copy privately to the Secretary of State to explain *the inner meaning of that it has not found altogether advisable to say in the letter to Bengal.*"[3]

Why this hush-hush? Why this secretiveness? Why this inordinate anxiety to keep back from the public facts regarding the partition scheme mentioned in the original draft of the letter to Bengal as prepared by the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, on the basis of Lord Curson's own minute? Obviously these facts were such—and Lord Curzon himself admits it—as could not be permitted to see the light of the day. Obviously, there was something fishy, something sinister about the scheme which could not be given out.

The leaders of Bengal were not, therefore, wide off the mark when they interpreted the partition scheme "as a subtle attack upon the growing solidarity of Bengali nationalism." The planners of the partition conceived of a two-pronged *modus operandi* to stem the rising tide of political consciousness in Bengal. First, break the solidarity of

3. Quoted from Lord Curzon's minute dated 10-11-08. *Home Department Procs.*, December 1908, Nos. 149-160.

1991

the Bengali Hindus, who constituted the vanguard of the national movement, by dividing them into two provinces, and secondly, widen the gulf between Hindus and Musalmans by holding up before the latter prospects of special advantage and domination in the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Regarding this second prong, there could be no hide-and-seek, for Mussalmans could not be won over unless the new prospects were forcefully placed before them. Hence the famous peroration of Lord Curzon on February 18, 1904, about the old glory of Muslim Dacca and the new glory that she was likely to achieve if the partition plan was carried through.

"Will any one pretend," Lord Curzon thundered, "that Dacca is anything but a shadow of its former self?" When the new proposal for partition is through, he assured, "it would make Dacca the centre and possibly the capital of a new and self-sufficing administration which must give to the people of these districts by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture the preponderating voice in the province so created, which would invest the Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussulman Viceroys and Kings, and which would go far to revive the traditions which the historical students assure us attached to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal."[4]

4. For the speech delivered by Lord Curzon at Dacca see *All about Partition* edited by P. Mukherjee (Calcutta, 1906).

1992

AN INTERCEPTED LETTER OF KEIR HARDIE TO BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

DR. SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA

(A proposal to hold a session of the Indian National Congress in London)

WHILE the Indian National Congress was trying to educate the Indian people about the supreme necessity of having their self-government, a group of men in Great Britain who were friendly to India felt the importance of educating the public opinion in that country in favour of the movement for the political emancipation of India. Foremost among them was Sir William Wedderburn, one of the architects of the Indian National Congress and twice the President of that august body.[1] Presiding over the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1910, Wedderburn said, " Let me remind you of the twofold character of the Congress work. There is first the work in India : the political education of the people, having for its first object to create solidarity of the Indian public opinion, founded on the widest experience and wisest counsel available. This part of the work has been in great part accomplished .....What is now wanted is a vigorous propaganda in England, in order to bring the appeal effectively before the High Court of the British nation. The work to be done is of a missionary kind and must be mainly directed to influencing the British people in whom the ultimate power is vested.....What is wanted is a systematic, continuous and sustained effort to bring before the English public the Indian view of Indian affairs.[2]

The idea of Wedderburn found a staunch advocate in the late James Keir Hardie,[3] the first Socialist member to be elected to the British House of Commons and the first Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Keir Hardie came to India in 1907-08, and in the course of an extensive tour in this country he gathered personal knowledge of the men and affairs in India. A man of the people. Keir Hardie could easily realize the role of the Indian leaders in the political movement. He acquired great respect for the Indian patriot Bal Gangadhar

1. Bombay Session, 1889, and Allahabad Session, 1910.
2. *Indian National Congress*, (G. A. Natesan, Madras, 1917), pp. 1005-06.
3. J. Keir Hardie (1856-1915), M. P. from 1900 till his death.

Tilak, who in the words of Lord Minto, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1905-1910) " was recognised throughout India as the leader of sedition."[4] Impressed by the personality of Tilak and the influence he exercised over the Indian National Congress, Keir Hardie in 1911 wrote from England to Tilak about the importance of educating British public opinion about India and her aims and aspirations.

But the letter never reached the great Indian leader. In 1908 Tilak was sentenced to imprisonment for six years on a charge of publication of seditious articles, and in March 1911 when the letter was addressed to him, Tilak was serving his sentence at the Mandalay jail in the far-off Burma. The letter was intercepted on its arrival at Bombay and as the result of a triangular corrspondence between the Government of Bombay the Government of India and the Government of Burma it was decided not to deliver the letter to the " convict." The Government of India read into the letter more than what was written. In their opinion Keir Hardie must have anticipated the interception of the letter and Lord Hardinge,[5] the then Governor-General, and his Council came to the conclusion that the letter was " probably written so as to create a grievance over its being intercepted."[6]

Almost half a century has passed by since the letter was written. Many events have happened since then. Both Tilak and Keir Hardie as also Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge are no longer in the land of the living. None of them were destined to see the emergence of an independent India, for which Tilak lived and died and which the friends of India like Keir Hardie might have visualized. The fact remains that the British public opinion and particularly the Labour Party, of which Keir Hardie was the first representative in the House of Commons, played a large part in the enactment of the Indian Independence Act of 1947 which transferred power over India from the people of Great Britain to those of India and Pakistan.

The letter of Keir Hardie to Tilak which so long lay hidden in a dark corner of the Archives of the Government of India may speak for itself about the emphasis put by Keir Hardie on the importance of holding a session of the Indian National Congress in London to educate

4. *India Minto and Morley*, 1905-1910, Mary, Countess of Minto, p. 247.

5. Baron Hardinge of Penshurst (1858-1944) Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1910-1916.

6. *Home : Poll-B : Proceedings*, July 1911, No. 17-19.

public opinion of Britain on Indian questions. The following is the text of the letter :—

House of Commons
Library

March 31st, 1911

My dear Mr. Tilak,

I have many times intended writing to you but somehow one's good intentions often get pushed aside by the pressure of necessities of the moment. I have been hearing of you indirectly through our mutual friend Mr. G. S. Khaparde.[7] I expect you are finding the time hang heavily on your hands, unless you are allowed a good deal of latitude in the way of doing some useful studies.

You have of course heard of the result of the General Election and how the Labour Party was returned two stronger than it was in the last Parliament. We are now 42 members in the House of Commons. Some of these are beginning to take quite an intelligent interest in India and its problems. I never miss an opportunity of driving home the point that the only solution for the difficulties of the situation in India is such a measure of self-government as will make the people of India masters in their own households. I am quite aware, as you know, that this state could not be attained immediately, but that is the real goal towards which every friend of India should be diligently striving. Every extension of power has justified the belief that the more these powers are extended the greater will be the proof of the fitness of the people to attend to their own affairs and the greater also the disproof of the carefully nurtured fallacy that India needs a strong controlling hand to keep its different sects and races from cutting each other's throats.

I have been strongly urging upon the heads of the Indian Congress Movement the advisability and importance of holding their next Congress here in London. The presence of men like yourself and your colleagues in Conference assembled would go far to break down prejudice, and were the Congress followed by a series of big demonstrations in our most important industrial centres the effect could not fail to be excellent. I do not know how far you agree with me that next to the education of the people of India concerning their political rights and duties the next important thing is the education of the people of this country concerning India and her aims and aspirations. There is no reason why the two things should not go on side by side and the Congress and the meetings would aid both objects.

7. A Congress leader of Amraoti, Berar and a Co-worker of Tilak.

I do not know if there is anything else I can add except that whether the Congress be held here or not, I trust that after your release you may be able to come here upon a visit. Should that happen I should be greatly delighted to renew the acquaintance in which I found so much to respect and admire, and with all good wishes for your health and well-being I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. KEIR HARDIE[8]

B. G. Tilak, Esq.

8. *Home* : *Poll-B* : *Proceedings*, July 1911, No. 17-19.
Interception of a letter addressed by Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M. P. to Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

1996

NATHDWĀRĀ PAINTINGS FROM THE 17TH TO 20TH CENTURY A.D.

DR. G. N. SHARMA

A VIGOROUS style of painting, termed as Nāthdwārā painting is associated with Nāthdwārā, a walled town situated on the right bank of the *Banās* river, in 24·56 'N and 73·49'E, about thirty miles north by north-east of Udaipur City. The town possesses one of the most famous *Vaishnava* shrine in India, in which is an image of Shrināthjī, popularly said to date from the twelfth century A.D. This image was placed by Vallabhāchārya in a small temple of Mathurā in 1495 and was moved to Goverdhan in 1519. About 150 years later, when Aurangzeb endeavoured to root out the worship of Krishna, the descendants of Vallabhāchārya left Mathurā District with respective images and wandered about Rājputānā till 1671, when Rānā Rājsingh invited three of them to Mewār. First of all the image of Shri Nāthjī was kept at Ghasār, a village in the hills of *Girvā*, and then it was removed to Sinhār. The same village was set apart for the worship of the image. There in due course a temple was erected. Around the temple gradually a town grew up which was called Nāthdwārā, the portal of the God.[1]

Very soon, on account of religious prestige commanded by the cult and chivalrous act of the Rānā Nāthdwārā became a centre of interest by the closing of the seventeenth century A.D. Pilgrims[2] particularly from Rājasthān and Malwā and generally from Gujarāt began to visit the Shrine and take with them the effigies of Shrināthjī for domestic worship. This popular demand must have attracted first a group of painters from Chāwand, Udaipur, Chitor and then from Jaipur, Jodpur, Alwar and Delhi to migrate to Nāthdwārā to earn their living by executing effigies of the newly installed God.

The next subject of their paintings was rightly the legend of God Shrināthjī appearing to Goswāmi in a dream and commanding him to find his burried image near Gowardhan hill where tracks of cows offered milk from their udders to the image. Along with this menifestation

1. MS. *Shrināthji ni Prāgatyavārtā* (Udaipur MS); Rajputāna Gazetteers, vol. II-A, p. 120.
2. *Sthāi Dafter* files of pilgrims, Nāthdwārā.

must also have been associated the reception of the image by the Rānā and the Ranis. Such paintings of pictorial representation of legendary and historical events naturally commenced the tradition of Nāthdwārā school.

Prof. O. C. Gangoly designates this school as Udaipur School.[3] Using Udaipur school as synonym for Nathdwārā appears to me misleading. In the first place the Udaipur School came into existence after the treaty of 1615 A.D., when Udaipur was finally established as the Capital of Mewār; while Nathdwārā School dates sufficiently late after V.S. 1728, (1671 A.D.) when the image of Shrī Nāthjī was removed to Sinhād[4] under the patronage of Rānā Rāj Singh[5] by Goswāmijī Dāmodarjī during the days of persecutions of Aurangzeb. Moreover, the original manifestation of Shrī Nāthjī[6] in early paintings with the burried image and the offering of the milk, Shri Vallabha in the act of the establishing the image of Shrī Nāthjī in a shrine, Rājput prince and princess is quite peculiar and different idea from Udaipur school of the same period.

With the growing importance of Sinhād as a centre of pilgrims other painters from Jaipur, Jodhpur, Alwar and Delhi also flocked to this place by the beginning of the 18th century A.D. This group of painters[7] coming from different localities followed the same theme of manifestation of Shrī Nāthjī along with other religious and secular themes of their original places with which they were acquainted. Some of the illustrations which would be cited in the following pages would clear the point that Nāthdwārā paintings have tinge of various '*Kalams*'. Thus many new characteristic qualities and circumstances under which the school developed at Nāthdwārā or Sinhad[8] (more accurately), call for new nomenclature different from Udaipur. The profusion of execution of pictorial art in the late 18th and 19th centuries gave it an authenticity and individuality which fitly justified it as a school by itself. But,

3. A group of Vallabhā Chārya of Nāthdwārā paintings and their relatives—*Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 81.

4. Ojha, *Udaipur Rājka-itihās*, vol. I, p. 35, vol. II, p. 547.

5. O. C. Gangoly has wrongly called him Rānā Rām Singh p. 84 of his same article.

6. Two copper-plate grants of old deposited records of Udaipur dated V.S 1792 and 1793 (1735-36 A. D.) designate the idol as Goverdhannāthji, God of Goverdhan hill.

7. Several painters of Nāthdwārā still distinguish them by three classes—Gor, Jangid and Purbia. The 1st class traces its origin from Udaipur, the 2nd from Jaipur and Jodhpur and the 3rd from Alwar or Delhi.

8. Various copper plates grants of 18th and 17th centuries *Pattas* in *Sthai-Daftar* of Nathdwārā and local songs preserve the name of the place as Sinhād. It was the official and local name of the place. Nāthdwārā is the later nomenclature used by pilgrims denoting devotional significance.

however, it may be pointed out that Nathdwārā school cannot be disaffiliated from the main stem of Mewāri School due to the fact that it flourished within the territorial limits of Mewār, the first group of painters were from Mewār and it received ample protection and facility for its execution under the governing hands of the Rānās.

It is very difficult to give some illustrations of the earlier paintings of his school of Nāthdwārā (Sinhād) of the 17th century because most of the valuable treasures have been either sold to foreign markets or have likewise been lost or destroyed in the course of constant warfare which marks the history of Mewār. However, the next stage in the growth of school is fortunately provided in a set of Nāthdwārā painings, preserved in the collection of Baroda State museum, critically analysed by Prof. O. C. Gangoly.[9] These paintings are very interesting series of cloth paintings (pats) devoted to various phases of the life of Shri Krishna, Vallabhāchārya,, effigies of Srināthji, *Janamastmi* festival, Rās-mandal, etc. The learned writer has tried to fix the date of the series as 1750 A.D. on the basis of certain paintings of Jaipur *Pothī Khānā*[10] though H. Goetz fixes the date for the same series as 1830 A.D.[11] It is unconvincing as to how Shri H. Goetz arrives at the accurate date of 1830. In pictures where there is no definite inscription or evidence we should go not by years but by early or late centuries only.

The most important characteristic feature of these paintings as analysed by the learned writer are that they are painted not on paper but on cotton cloth, probably with glue medium. A peculiar mannerism is to be observed in the pose of hands, one of which is held up in a sharp right-angle, the other hand being placed in freer pose by *Gopis*. In the group of *Gopis* there is a considerable depth of feeling and conviction in the nervous animation and liveliness of the composition. The landscape background has been formed by various groups of trees, plantain, *Deodar* and *Kadamba* trees. Decorative border of wide open flowers altering with conventionally arranged leaves is the striking feature of this series. In some pictures there are also ornamental borders. The celestial Cars at the top of the picture carrying the *devās* who rain down flowers on the mystic dance below, are all of the same type, decorated with the effigies of peacocks, except one with the head of a bull, suggesting that its inmate may be Siva. In the group of Gopies there is no attempt made to differentiate individual features of faces, a convention persistently followed in Rājasthānī as well as Kangra paintings. This identity of type is emphsised in the peculiar physiognomy of the profile faces, with oblique eye-brows and a fantastic

9. *BBSM*, vol. I, pt. II. 1944, pp. 81-89.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

shape of eye—with its end lines running up to meet the termination of the eyebrow. The acquiline nose, short firm lips and thedescending tresses of locks of heir ending in peculiar curls and the diaphanous robe through which the shape of the limbs can be seen, contribute to the building up of a stereotyped pattern.[12]

Some of the traits of this set favourably compare with the elements of composition and features in the *Rāsamandal* paintings of the Jaipur *Pothikhānū*.[13]. The comparable component exists in the series of Celestial Chariots, serial *Vimānās*. There also exists a similarity in the treatment of trees of this set. The three concentric circles of *Rāsa* of Jaipur *Pothikhānā* adequately compare with two concentric circles of the Barodā Series.

Recently I have been able to discover some of the exquisite paintings of Shri Nāthji and Vithal Nāthji in the collection of Shri Chunni Lal of Nāthdwārā. They have been prepared by Ram Chandra, the ancestor of the owner who lived in the late 18th century. The family of the owner originally belonged to Jaipur. Though the theme of the pictures is *Vaishnavite* the characteristic features of Jaipur *Kalam* are easily distinguishable. In technique these are nearest to the Barodā series.

In one of the pictures (5″ × 8″) Vithal Nāthjī, the Goswami is seated on a raised platform with fine landscape of blue sky, conventional trees, distant hills and water and lotus in foreground. In another painting (9″ × 7″) Krishna is swinging with crossed feet attended by Gopies and cows. Similarly the pictures of Hanumān and a *Sardār* have all the bearings of portraiture painting of the late 18th century. In another picture Rāma is seated in the *Virāsan* on the throne with '*Pithika*' behind. In front he has Lakshman with a fan. At his feet sits Hanumān in adoration. The colour scheme is simple consisting of green, yellow, red and bright and brown.

From the point of view of style and character and use of colour scheme the collection of Sri Chunni Lāl classes with Barodā set as far as treatment of Vaishnavite subjects like Vithal Nāthjī and Shri Nāthji in original manifestation goes. In the same way it also goes with Jaipur painting as far as the features, poses borders and other details are concerned. The painting of Krishna attended by cows and Gopies exactly resemble the painting published by Coomarswamy in his Rājput painting, Plate No. XI. The foreground of water and lotus exactly go with the Plate XII-B (Coomarswamy Rājput painting, vol. II).

12. Dumimarised from ' A group of Vallabhacharya, or Nāthdwārā paintings and their relatives by O. C. Gangoly, Bulletion of *BBSM*, vol. I, pt. II, 1944, pp. 86-89.

13. Gangoly, Masterpiece of Rajput paintings, Plate X, N. C. Mehta ; studies in Indian Paintings, Plate II.

Thus from the survey of the features of Barodā Collection and Sri Chunni Lal's collection and collection of Jaipur *Pothī Khānā* we conclude rightly that the Nāthdwārā school had also adopted in it the technique and style as it was prevalent in Jaipur, though major themes of the subject remained Vaishnavite.

Similarly in picture of Rādhā and Krishna, belonging to late 18th century, in the possession of Shri Udai Ram who claims his descent from Jodhpur, we find several traits of Jodhpur art, as robust feature of Krishna, big curling hairs and *Ṣārī* and *lenga* after Jodhpur fashion. The *Kirīt* of Shri Krishna has an enormous erections of the Jodhpuri turban. These features and techniques can adequately be compared with the style adopted in the paintings of *Dhola Maru*,[14] *Ramayan*[15] *Nāth Charitra*[16] and *Suraj Prakāsh*[17] in the collection of Jodhpur *Durbār*.

Then in the *Moti Mahal* palaces of Nāthdwārā we find some fine specimen of the late 18th century A.D., framed on walls of the balcony and other adjoining rooms.

In one of them Krishna is shown playing on the bank of *Jamunā*. Here the *Jamunā* has been drawn after the impression that the painter had of the neighbouring *Banās* rushing down from its mountains retreats and whirling in swift turns through scenes of verdant glory. Krishna and Gopies have been attired in '*Dhoti*' and '*Dupattā*' of yellow colour with red edges. In another picture we find Krishna and Rādhā strolling in grove of *Kadamba* trees with bees and clamouring birds around.

In another picture we find Krishna riding over the *Hindolā*, attended by various *Sakhis*. Here the trees of *Kadambās* and Mangoes with their overspreading branches furnish the canopy of green foliage. The natural colour of the peacock and sky colour is suggestive of the days of the advent of rainy season. The entire treatment of the landscape is original.

The figures of this Kalam are of round faces. Their extending hands have thin fingers. Women wear ornaments of Mewāri style and coloured cloths. Krishna with all ornaments usually worn by the Rānās and *Sardārs* appear only in yellow '*Dhotī*' with a '*Kirit*' composed of pearls and peacock feathers.

14. MS. *Dhola Maru* V.S. 1860.
15. MS. *Ramayan*, V.S. 1860.
16. MS. *Nath Charitra*, V.S. 1860.
17. MS. *Suraj Prakash* of about V.S. 1860.

CF. The picture Gallery of the Jodhpur Museum—*The Journal of Indian Museums*, vol. IV, 1948.

2001

One more striking feature of this school is the prominence of *Vanmal* and *Vaijayantimal* worn by Krishna which suspends down to the knees. The dancing poses of *Gopikās* reach nearer to the poses of Mewāri paintings.[18]

These paintings as it appears have been largely prepared by Udaipur painters who had domiciled themselves at Nāthdwārā. Though in the palace there are other pictures also which indicate mixed style of Rājasthān showing several features of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Northern Indian style.

In the 19th century also the same tradition continued. Shri Coomarswami in his Rajput paintings, p. 41, Plate XIV illustrates the picture of Shrī Nāthjī as manifested in the discovery of a buried image at Gowardhana of the same type. "The buried image is seen in the upper left hand corner of the picture where one of the cows of Goverdhana is making an offering of her own milk. On the right hand Sri Vallabha is in the act of establishing the image in shrine. Below to the left are seen another Tailanga Brahmans in attitude of devotion, and a servant with a bale is no doubt Rāj Singh and two Gopis, or perhaps princesses, with offering of milk and curd. The foreground is occupied on the right and left by villagers. The most beautiful figure is that of the foremost Brahman, a true *Bhakta*, whose eyes are closed and hands outstretched in fervent adoration."[19] Another example of the same style yields a group of lively compositions, depicting a group of worshipping cows, arranged in rows.[20] A variation of this theme has been noticed in the form of the worship of Shrī Nathjī by groups of cows.[21] To the same style belongs the picture of Shrī Nāthjī, located in the shrine, accompanied by Radha, groups of devotees and cows.[22]

With the accession of Goswami Goverdhan Lāljī (1876 A.D.), who was a great patron of art, and with a change in the taste of the patron as well as in keeping with the new trends of the age, modernism entered Nāthdwārā painting. The subjects popular to the Nāthdwārā painters of this period were the notable incidents of Krishna's life, Krishna playing the flute on the bank of *Jamunā*, lifting of Goverdhan, stealing of clothes of Gopies by Krishna as they bathed nude in the river, killing of demons, strolling of *Rādhā* with Krishna in the forest, Rās Lilā and

18. MS. Arsha Ramayan (illustrated, Saraswati Bhawan Library, Udaipur.
19. Coomarswāmy, *Rājput Paintings*, vol. I, p. 41.
20. 'A Pastoral Paradise', *Rupam*, No. 41-44, 1930, p. 14.
21. *Ibid.*, No. 41, January, 1930, pp. 14-15.
22. Coomarswamy, *op. cit.*, Plate XV A and B. *Rupam*, No. 80, April 1927, p. 60.

2002

Mān Lilā have been depicted in several pictures of various size with certain variations. The best examples of this period can be seen on the front wall of *Ratan Chowk* of the temple of *Krishna Bhandār* and *Moti Mahal.*

By the beginning of the 20th century this art reaches a phase when the artists care more for the taste of the purchasers and less for the basic art. During this period Vaishnavite themes are moulded to suit new circumstances. As for example Rādhā is shown bathing in a river or pond and Krishna is depicted watching from a balcony overrlooking the bathing platform. Similarly Krishna is painted playing on his flute longing to meet his beloved. In brief the most frequent subjects are the pranks and plays of the love scenes of Rādhā and Krishna.

Thus our age witnesses a steady decline in the fine art traditions of Nāthdwārā. The devotional phase of the art gave way to erotic representation. The only healthy sign worth noting is that the art gradually became cosmopolitan and national in accepting suggestions in its assimilation and interpretation. A sort of historic taste has been picked up with the result that the modern artist of Nāthdwārā freely paints Shri Nāthjī along with the Pratap, Shivaji, Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders of our time with efficiency.

The detailed and critical study of Nāthdwārā School leads us to the conclusion that in this art we find a fine blending of method and style of Marwār, Jaipur, Alwar and Udaipur *Kalams.* This view is corroborated by the fact that most of the families of painters of Nāthdwārā trace their origin from Nagpur, Jaipur, Alwar, Jodhpur and Udaipur. Moreover several specimen of the paintings as cited above, dated as late as the 18th and 19th centuries A.D., ascribed to individual artists, preserve to a large extent traits of the parent stock of the Rājasthānī technique. However, in the later paintings of the 20th centuries we find greater divertion towards the adoption of modern taste and art and the distinction as pointed above practically vanishes.

Thus the Nāthdwārā school of painting is a rich and enlightened art especially devoted to Krishna's phases of life worked out by a style which evolved out of the native characteristics assimiliating therein several salient features of other sister methods and techniques of Rājasthān and Northern India.

2003

EAST INDIA COMPANY AND ANDHRA

PROFESSOR Y. VITTAL RAO

(Summary)

THIS paper is a continuation of the subject begun in the last Congress (20th Session) dealing with the activities of the East India Company in the 17th Century, in Andhra, dealing also with the general conditions of the time, as gleaned from the sources, Records of Fort St. George, available with the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. The present paper dealing with the period till 1689, is a continuation of the previous paper.

2004

HOW THE PORTUGUESE CEDED BOMBAY

PROFESSOR D. R. SAR DESAI

(*Summary*)

THE Portuguese knew the importance of Bombay as a port. But, the English also desired its possession and had attacked the "Great Manor House" of Bombay in 1626. The war with the Dutch in 1652 emphasized the need for a good port on the western coast of India. Consequent to their defeat in Ceylon, the Dutch appeared to be concentrating on western India. This was a serious menace for British trade in India.

Negotiations with Goa authorities proved a failure. They would not even be prepared for selling the island of Bombay.

And then suddenly enough, the marriage, treaty between Charles II and Infanta Catherine of Portugal was signed on 23rd June, 1661. The dowry included besides Bombay, the port of Tanjier and a sum of 2 million cruzados.

Portugal ceded the valuable island of Bombay for a certain reason. Of late Spain was endeavouring to bring Portugal back under her Sovereignty. Portuguese needed an ally and England did not want Portugal to be swallowed by her age-old foe, Spain.

Secondly, the Portuguese had become a weak, decadent power in the East, where they had to give a fight to the energetic Dutch. Ceylon was lost in 1658 and Goa was threatened.

Both Holland and Spain were not friendly with England. Portugal therefore needed England's assistance and the inclusion of the clause in the treaty was insisted upon by them. Charles II gave such an assurance in the Secret article appended to the treaty.

When the Dutch danger was found to be not too serious, the Goan authorities did not appear to be prepared to cede Bombay and it came to be finally handed over only after a protracted correspondence between Portugal and England.

2005

APPAJEE RAM,
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DIPLOMAT OF MYSORE

SHRI D. S. ACHYUTA RAU

(*Summary*)

FROM the earliest days of the existence of organised States there must have been diplomacy and diplomats, for States can hardly exist without relations with each other. It was common practice in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for one State to maintain envoys of Vakils at the Court of other States. Diplomatic agents called *niyogis*, *rayabharies*, *dutas* and more commonly known as *Vakils* were sent to foreign Courts whenever necessity arose to carry out important and special missions. Though the office of the diplomatic agent was often a temporary one created for a specific purpose, the system of permanently accrediting representatives by one State at the Court of another had become more or less an established practice among Indian powers in the eighteenth century.

Among several notable Vakils or diplomats like Bina Visaji or Visaji Pant, Pradhana Venkappaiya, Srinivasa Rao, Seshagiri Rao and Tirumala Rao who served Mysore in the eighteenth century the name of Appajee Ram remains the most celebrated one. He was in the service of Haidar Ali and subsequently served his son Tippu Sultan. He was a Maharashtrian Deshashtha Brahmin. He was the resident Ambassador of Haider Ali at Poona. He possessed farseeing abilities and was at the same time vivacious, witty, clever and tactful. He was a man of great address who knew how to shape his conduct to the needs of the occasion. He was the chief guiding spirit in the series of diplomatic transactions that took place between Mysore and the Poona Government between 1764-80. Of these situations a few are outlined here which would reveal the diplomatic skill of Appajee Ram and the success or failure of his missions.

The study concludes with the words, " considered that a diplomat's life in his country was cast in very difficult circumstances in those medieaval times and that the diplomatic conventions of the old world were trying in their own way, the career of Appajee Ram cannot be considered a failure."

2006

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF RAJA SHITAB ROY-NAIB NIZIM OF BIHAR (1765-1773)

PROFESLK AKHILESWAR KUMAR

(*Summary*)

SHITABROY, a Saxena Kayastha of Delhi, after the fall of the mighty Mughal Empire, came over to Bihar to try his luck there. In Shamsudaulla's Bengal, he obtained several offices like the Imperial Dewan of Azimabad, the Government of the fortress of Rhotas and the management of *jagir* lands. As a clever statesman of his age, he succeeded in winning over to his side the sympathy and good-will of the English East India Company. He made his mark in the land of Bengal and Bihar by his act of heroism in the battlefield as well as by his presence of mind. By his diplomatic skill, he could make peace with the Nawab of Oudh and the fugitive Emperor Shah Alam and thereby kept them at bay and facilitated his own path of success. In recognition of his singular service to the English E. I. C., he was appointed as Naib-Nazim of Bihar in 1765 and served Bihar in that capacity till 1773. Warren Hastings brought charges of misappropriation and maladministration against him but ultimately he was honourably acquitted of all those charges and was restored to his former status. He could not survive the trial long and left this world for good in September 1773. He was an able administrator, a good and brave soldier and well-versed in the art of diplomacy. It was by dint of his sheer merit and sincere services that he could rise to all India stature in a considerably short period of time. He played an important role in the contemporary politics of his time.

In the present paper an attempt has been made to study the life of Shitabroy on the basis of all the hitherto known evidences.

2007

MEASURES TAKEN IN BIHAR ON THE OUTBREAK OF THE ANGLO-FRENCH WAR (1778-83)

SHRI J. S. JHA

(*Summary*)

THE French Factory at Patna was subordinate to Chandernagore. It was an important centre of French trade before the Seven Years War (1756-63). After that its importance declined, yet in March 1778, when the Anglo-French war broke out in America Captain John Macpherson, officer commanding at Danapur, in accordance with the orders of the Governor-General and Camlit, took possession of the factory, on the 16th July, without encountering any opposition. The French chief, Mons. Panar, and others in the factory were allowed to remain at large on parole. Other French subjects in Bihar were also required to give their parole. An inventory was taken of the property of the factory and also of the individuals of the French Nation, who resided out of the limits of the factory. The postal department was directed to intercept all the French letters and send them on to the Chief of the Patna Council of Revenue. Further Parawanas were issued to the Amils of Sherghaty, Chainpur, Sassaram, Shahabad, Saran and Champaran, directing them to be vigilant so that no Europeans passed their districts without proper licence. Sometime afterwards, in August 1778, it was thought necessary to assemble all the French subjects at Chandernagore, and accordingly they were all sent there and their property was returned to them.

2008

CHICKAVEERA RAJENDRA WADEYAR THE LAST RAJAH OF COORG

SHRI D. N. KRISHNAYYA

(*Summary*)

COORG was a small principality on the summit of the western ghats to the west of the former Mysore State. Chickaveera Rajendra Wadeyar of the Haleri dynasty was the ill-fated prince who was deposed from his kingdom in 1834 by the East India Company. The Haleri princes had become the dependent allies of the Company after the fall of Tippu Sultan. The Company accused the last Rajah of Coorg of oppressing his people and interfered in his internal administration. Chennabasappa, a close relative of the Rajah who was alleged to have plotted against the Rajah escaped from Coorg and sought protection with the British at Seringapatam. The Rajah demanded the restoration of the fugitive back to him, but the British refused to deliver up the fugitive to the Rajah in spite of the Rajah's persistent appeals to the British officers including the Governor-General of India. Then he declared war against the Company, but fearing the consequences, surrendered to the British when the British armies marched on Coorg.

The Company wanted to annex Coorg to their dominions on account of its strategical position on the ghats and its salubrious climate. Therefore, though the Rajah confessed that he was inexperienced and guided by evil counsellors and repented for having defied the Company's authority and begged the British to allow him to remain in Coorg, the British deposed him. The charges against him had not been proved and therefore his deposition was not justifiable, but was brought about by the greed of the trading corporation, the East India Company, to possess Coorg for themselves.

2009

BAGHELKHAND IN 1857

PROFESSOR A. H. NIZAMI

(Summary)

THE advent of British power in Central India dates from the Treaty of Bassein (1802) but Maharaja Ajit Sinha of Rewa (1755-1809) resisted British overtures with the result that when the Bhonsalas occupied southern Baghelkhand, Rewa could not invoke British assistance. The first Anglo-Baghela treaty was signed in 1812 but Sohagpur Ilaqa of Rewa State, ceded by the Peshwa to the Company, became part of Mandla district of Saugor and Nerbudda Territories in British India (1820).

In 1833 a secret mint in Nagod (State), turning out underweight brass coins of Rewa, was closed down by the British. In 1842-43 the Bundela Rebellion in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories had its echo in the Bundelkhand Agency when the rebel Raja, Parichhat of Jaitpur, was deprived of his principality.

The discontent among the "great dispossessed," in Central India made the call of Nana Saheb to be responded to. The flames of rebellion travelled from Jhansi to Bijairaghogarh and Maihar by October 1857 *via* Sagar, Damoh and Jabalpur and to Sohagpur by November *via* Mandla, Ramgarh and Sahpur.

Osborne, the newly appointed Political Agent in Rewa, succeeded in keeping the Great Deccan Road clear at a time when Maharaja Raghuraj Sinha (1854-88); was giving lukewarm support, encouraging the rebel Thakur of Sohagpur and sheltering the four rebellious Baghela Sardars of whom Ranmat Sinha was the most outstanding and who were contacting Tantya Tope on behalf of their clan.

Osborne exploited the situation to his best advantage and his resourcefulness saved Rewa from the mutineers in the critical months of June and July. In August Kunwar Sinha of Bihar appeared on the Mirzapur frontier ostensibly to meet the vascillating Maharaja who was surrounded by moulvis from North Western Province (Agra and Oudh). In the same month the four Baghela Sardars of Rewa rose in revolt and

were banished from the Rewa Court, thanks to Osborne of these Ranmat rose to be the leader of the Movement between Rewa and Banda and enjoyed the Maharaja's patronage.

The Baghela Thakur of Sohagpur in Mandla district was a collateral of the Maharaja of Rewa and both were in brisk correspondence during these months. When the young Thakur of Bijairaghogarh had rebelled in October, a mob in Rewa surrounded the office of the Political Agent, threatening to kill Osborne. Osborne succeeded in winning over the Brahmin family of Diwans and the fall of Maihar, at the hands of a representative force from Rewa, came to the Maharaja as a personal triumph inasmuch as he coveted it as part of his ancestral dominions. Raghuraj Sinha ultimately got neither Maihar nor Bijairaghogarh but the British would seem to have offered him the possession of Sohagpur on its fall. His support to the Sohagpuris, therefore, wanes in the same proportion as his zeal for the capture of Maihar waxes (December). Lal-Ranmat Sinha and his companions were trying in February 1858 to earn the support of Tantya Tope who was then at the height of his power. The responsibility for the arrest of Ranmat Sinha, who carried on his person a reward of Rs. 2,000/-, was thrown by the British on Rewa State, now that Sir Hugh Rose had started his counter offensive on the Jhansi front. Ranmat Sinha had been checkmated by Ajaigarh forces in the grim battle of Bhillsain and when Banda fell in April 1858, thanks to the counter-offensive of Whitlock, Ranmat went practically into hiding but continued to give trouble for a whole year. The Thakur of Sohagpur, however, held out until June when the garhi was evacuated.

The whole episode ends with the appointment of Dinbandh as Diwan with the unique title of "Bahadur," the grant of Sohagpur including Amarkantak to the Maharaja of Rewa and the surrender and execution of Ranmat Sinha.

2011

LETTER OF FOUR BAGHELA MUTINEERS OF REWA

PROFESSOR AVINASH CHANDRA SRIVASTAVA

(*Summary*)

THIS paper is based on four original letters found by the Vindhya Pradesh History of Freedom movement Committee during 1958-57 from Faujdar Abdul Majid Khan of Tikamgarh. Faujdar Abdul Majid Khan had a bundle of original letters both in Hindi and Urdu and these four letters were amongst them which were written by four Baghela mutineers of Rewa to Tantya Tope during February 1859 making offers and soliciting help and guidance from him in suppressing the British and their supporters. These four Baghela mutineers were Lal Dhir Sinha, Lal Lochan Sinha, Lal Pratipal Sinha and Lal Ranmast Sinha.

This paper throws important light on the contribution of Rewa to the mutiny of Central India. It reveals that although Reva was badly connected so far as means of communications were concerned, regular correspondence was going on and there was contact between the rebel leaders of that region. All these four letters written in February 1858 indicate that the dissatisfaction at that time against the British had reached to the highest pitch and these mutineers considered it most suitable time to contact Tantya Tope and put forward a concerted effort.

The entire background of this paper as well as these four letters speak out that the great rebellion miscalled mutiny was an all India movement.

2012

SECTION IV

LOCAL HISTORY

2013

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

JOSEPH MUNDASSERY

Minister of Education, Kerala

FRIENDS,

At the very outset let me thank the organisers of the Indian History Congress on behalf of the people and Government of Kerala for having agreed to hold its 21st Session at Trivandrum, the capital of the newly formed Kerala State. As most of you are aware Kerala has been the meeting place of almost all the nations, races, cultures and religions; and as such Kerala is symbolic of the composite character of the civilization and culture of India. We are really proud to welcome the distinguished delegates from the various States of India to the 21st Session of the Indian History Congress and extend to them ample opportunity to move about in this land of hoary tradition blessed with the splendour and glory of nature and to study its historic setting and development. On behalf of the people and the Government of Kerala I extend to you a warm welcome.

The promoters of this Session of the Congress have honoured me by kindly inviting me to preside over the Kerala Section of the Congress. I do not know in what capacity I have been found fit to be called upon to address you on Kerala History. I have been a student of Science throughout my schooling. Later I had to switch on to Sanskrit and Malayalam. I had to do indeed very little with History except listening to some addresses by distinguished scholars. There was a short period in my career during which I went about to visit certain places of historical importance in Kerala. To collate the broken pieces of that limited experience I read up a few documents of South Inidian History, but I was not in a position to continue the job for long. This meagre equipment on my part, I am sure, is not enough to make me fit to preside over an august assembly like this in which I am expected to speak with a certain amount of authority and fundamental grasp of things. The Ministerial Office which I am holding now should not have been construed as equivalent to what I should have possessed to preside over the scholarly deliberations of a Conference like this. While thanking the promoters of the Congress for having conferred on me the great privilege

2014

of being the President of the Kerala Section of the 21st Session of the Indian History Congress, I request you not to ask for any authoritative guidance from me in the matter of Kerala History which is still to a very large extent an un-explored field of varied human activities.

From pre-historic times Kerala has been a great attraction for outsiders. The Arabian Sea brought down to the shores of Kerala every nation that flourished from the days of Babylon, up to this time, in the Middle-East, on the Mediterranean coast and in western Europe, in succession. The Phoenicians, the Jews, the Syrians, the Egyptians—all these ancient communities reached Kerala in their own times to exchange their goods for the valuable products of Kerala like pepper, cardamom, ivory, pearls etc. Most of those nations have recorded their impressions about Kerala in their own chronicles. Also we have with us certain impressions of our earliest contacts in the social life of our people which if studied in the light of the ancient records would take us far into the hoary past. In addition to these we have certain writings of the early Tamil poets who have extensively described the traffic of foreigners in the emporiums of Kerala. It is regrettable that the information conveyed to us by the so far available documents and traditions is very scrappy and that those available sources of history therefore do not afford us enough material to build up a reliable history of the ancient period.

Our historians have examined all the records so far available and collated them carefully. Shri K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Mr. Logan, the author of the Malabar Gazetteer, Shri C. Achutha Menon the author of the Cochin State Manual and Shri Nagamayya, the author of the Travancore State Manual have been some of the pioneers in writing the history of Kerala. Their efforts are commendable in so far as they enable us to have a peep into the set up of ancient Kerala.

But it is to be confessed that nothing in the nature of scientific history has been attempted till now as far as the period up to the Middle-ages is concerned. Too many conjectures have been made by our writers on the strength of the material within their reach about the political set up of ancient Kerala up to the days of the dismemberment of the Perumal Regime. But none of them amounts to authentic history. As to the pattern of social life and the cross-breed of cultures obtained in ancient Kerala very little information has been collected so far and no sociological study has been attempted with a view to ascertain what could have been obtained in the early ages in the social set up on this side of the ghats. From the Middle Ages up to this time there is very little that is missing in the history of Kerala. And I am to tell you that our writers have written up a fairly authentic history as far as the modern period is concerned.

The problem therefore in the field of Kerala history is that we have to collect more sources of reliable information in order to build up a true and comprehensive history of ancient Kerala. I do not know if I may be able to throw fresh light on this. Still I may be permitted to place before you certain points which have struck me.

Kerala is a land of hills and dales, jungles and lakes interrupted by short but well-fed rivers. Within every five to ten miles we have a river. The entire land is rendered fertile by these never-in-the-year-dry rivers. Most of them are navigable too. The physical features of Kerala were more or less like this even in the earliest centuries. The coastal belt which is a contiguous stretch for about 350 miles now was perhaps disconnected at various points in the beginning. The hills were occupied by the primitive tribes while the dales and other cultivable areas were probably under the plough of the agrarian communities. The products of the hills, dales and jungles moved down to the mouths of the river for sale. The emporiums at the river mouths glutted with such products were frequented by foreign traders. Probably this constant mercantile traffic strengthened the chieftaincies which sprang up at the river mouths. And the one at the mouth of the longest river of Kerala 'Periyar' by name, must have developed into the 'Chera' Dynasty which according to our tradition ruled the entire land of Kerala in the beginning of the Christian Era. The 'Cheras' have gone into south Indian History as one of the three Dynasties which controlled the destiny of the Dravidian people in the South for centuries. Their territory sometimes extended up to Salem in the present Madras State. 'Cranganore' or 'Thiruvanchikulam' known as 'Vanchimanagar' in early Tamil literature was the seat of the Cheras. They had built up an extensive capital including 'Kunavayilkottam' the famous 'Vihara' of the Buddhist intellectuals described in the great epics of 'Chilappathikaram' and 'Manimekhalai'. This great city was swept away by floods later and very little is left of it now except a few mounds here and there. The Cheras lost their overlordship much earlier than the Pandyas and the Cholas probably because they had too many chieftaincies under them which claimed independent existence. Here was perhaps the main difference between the Chera Regime and the other two Regimes. The Cheras were succeeded by elected Perumals. We are yet to know how and when the elected 'Perumals' came into power and what the content of their regime was. Legends and stories we do have in plenty to tell us about the Perumals. But so far no factual history has been squeezed out of them. The traditional list of Perumals shows import from the Chola and the Pandya Dynasties. We have still to dive deep into the lore of the country to regularise the history after the Cheras.

The Cholas got themselves mixed up with the Pallavas probably by the third century A.D. And with that coalition the Chola regime

became pro-Aryan. More or less by that period the Namboodiri Brahmins arrived in Kerala and gradually established themselves along the coastal belt which was perhaps at that time not fully occupied by the indigenous communities. My feeling is that the Aryan element entered Kerala from the north and marched to power with the aid of the Chola-Pallavas. A comparative study of the Gramaraj of the Namboodiries in Kerala and the Pallava Polity in the South has led me to this conjecture. It is worthwhile that scholars interested in research follow up the suggestion more or less in the line indicated by the late Dr. Meenakshi in her valuable book 'Pallava Polity' by name. A comprehensive study of the social and cultural traditions of the Namboodiries of the area covered by the 32 Gramoms supposed to have been established by them, the centuries-old impact of the Brahmin scholars from the realm of the Chola-Pallavas on the chieftaincies and also the dominant families of Namboodiries in Kerala and the affinity with the Cholas implied in the tradition of the Zamorins may be helpful in ascertaining the active role of the Chola-Pallavas in moulding up the Perumal Regime after the fall of the Cheras. In this context I would like to point out that the 'Chathiramkali' of the Namboodiries and the social and cultural background responsible for the emergence of the hybrid style known as 'Manipravala' deserve further examination with a better historical insight.

The arrival of the Arabs, the Jews and Syrian Christians in Kerala is another important event awaiting our further study. I do not believe that they arrived here in terms of communities. Only handfuls of them could have reached the shores of Kerala and their stay here was most probably actuated by trading interests. Their contact was confined to the coastal region where alone there were emporiums of trade. The earliest Jewish pockets in India were in Kerala. Some of them are still alive. I believe that they have much ancient history to unfold. A closer study of their time-old customs, manners and traditions and also excavation in certain sites occupied by them from very early times would yield valuable information. The Jews like the Namboodiries chose to be a selected race without resorting to proselytisation and expansion. The Arabs and the Syrian Christians got mixed up with the upper classes of Kerala during their stay in our emporiums, converted many from among them to their creeds and paved the ground for the growth of the Christian and Muslim communities in Kerala. The Muslims and the Christians including the converts started playing the role of 'Vaisyas' from very early times securing protective rights from the then rulers and later they have established themselves as the most dominant trading communities in Kerala. Their penetration into the interior of the country has been conditioned by the navigability of the rivers and the fertility of the soil. Certain areas in Kerala have thus become exclusively theirs. It is worthwhile to study the early history of these communities along with that of the upper-class Hindus

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from amongst whom conversions were frequent. There are umpteen things in the social life of these communities to throw light upon the traffic between them and the upper-class Hindus in the early centuries.

The impact of Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala too requires closer study. Those cults have left their impressions in our art, architecture, festivities, customs, manners, etc. Some historians feel that the Ezhavas who form one of the major communities of Kerala seem to retain the active influence of the Buddhist cult much more than any other community. Their ' Putherachen ' seems to be an imposition upon the pre-Aryan cult of which they are the legitimate descendants.

There is again the contact of the Chinese with the southern coast of Kerala to be studied with better insight. Quilon which is one of our early ports is still an index of Chinese influence. To me, the very word ' Kollam ' which has become Quilon in English smacks Chinese contact. I do not know why I feel like that. But I may tell you that the word ' Kollam ' is still a mystery in Kerala History. Many other places along the coast of Kerala are known by the name ' Kollam'. And they all happen to be in the vicinity of ports. Also there is the term ' Kollam ' signifying Malayalam Era, known as ' Kollavarsha'. The Sanskritists of Kerala have transformed the term ' Kollam ' in all their usages into ' Kolamba'. Colombo in Ceylon too is ' Kolambu ' according to them. Does the term mean passage to the sea ? Has it anything to do with the Port of ' Kowlon ' between Hongkong and China ? Well, I do not want to go further. I would like that the students of research explore the semantics of the term and get at its real significance in Kerala history.

Already I have taken much of your valuable time. I have just thrown out a few suggestions for the active consideration of all those who are genuinely interested in re-writing the history of Kerala with more authentic interpretation of the happenings of the past and with more emphasis on the pattern of society obtained in ancient Kerala and its later evolution. Already we have made a start under the auspices of the Kerala Sahithya Academy by organising a Section under which a certain number of students would be enabled to do further research in Kerala history. We hope the new University of Kerala also would take up the study of Kerala history and culture with a new vision and interest.

The great lesson of the history of Kerala is tolerance imbued with the spirit of assimilation. I mean assimilation of all that is good from outside. And I may confidently tell you that it is this time-old tolerance and assimilation that has reared up a people of talent, vigour and tenacity in Kerala.

Thank you.

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SOME EASTERN TESTIMONIES CONCERNING EARLY AND MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

Rev. Dr. E. R. Hambye, S.J.

Our knowledge concerning the existence and history of Christianity in India before the 16th century is not very complete. There is no other reason for this partial ignorance than the lack of sufficient documentation. For, besides the local traditions of the south, we have but relatively few texts that mention either the origins or the subsequent growth of Christianity in early times.

Therefore it is not out of place to offer here a few testimonies concerning this question. Of these some are but little known, while others are not known at all. They have been gathered mostly from Eastern sources. By the adjective 'Eastern' we mean documents written in the Near East, and more precisely by Syrian Christians. Eastern is opposed here to Greek and Latin.

Most of the texts that will be used in these notes originated in the Syriac-speaking Church of Mesopotamia and Persia, whose Christians were and are still known as 'Eastern Christians'. Much has been written and published about this Church, which underwent a remarkable development between the 5th and the 13th century of the Christian era. From all we know today, it seems clear that it was from this Church that the Indian Christians received then their hierarchy and ways of worship. A witness to this fact today is the liturgy of the majority of the Syrian Christians of Malabar; those who are commonly known as the Syro-Malabar or Chaldaec-Malabar Catholics. Another proof of that ascendancy is the special Syriac vocabulary transliterated into Malayalam and used by all Syrian Christians in India to indicate liturgical and other Christian terms. When transferred into Malayalam script and uttered thus such words are still pronounced by all according to the spelling of the East Syriac language, though Jacobites and Malankara Catholics speak Syriac according to the West Syriac manner.

It is but reasonable to expect that we shall find in the documents available from writers of the Eastern Church of Mesopotamia allusions and information on the state of Christianity in India.

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In this connection it should not be forgotten that the name 'India' (Syriac : *Hêndo*) was not always given the precise geographical signification it possesses today. For instance, there was some hesitation among Egyptian Christians about the exact geographical position of their southern and eastern neighbours. Thus one finds occasionally the name 'India' given to Ethiopia in writings published in Egypt. However, it seems quite certain that no such hesitation was entertained by Syrian Christians, particularly by those belonging to the Church of Mesopotamia. Owing to the early and close relations between the latter and the Indian Christians, the country of Hindustan was sufficiently well identified, and when they spoke of India, they meant the whole subcontinent as we know it at present. The testimonies of Eastern Syrian writers are all the more precious for this reason.

We do not intend to list all the possible sources at our disposal. We will be satisfied with commenting upon the most important ones. Some have not been given their exact meaning. Most of the evidence found in these pages shows every sign of authenticity. A few may not be as reliable as they appear, but they may help either to corroborate better-founded testimonies, or to provoke further studies of controverted points.

The testimonies we shall mention here may be divided into two classes and commented upon accordingly :

1 :—Those concerning Christians living in India ;

2 :—Those pointing to hierarchical relations of the Indian Christians.

It is useful to keep in mind that the sources we use over a period extending from the 8rd to the 18th century of the Christian era.

1. *Eastern Testimonies about Christians in India* :

The first document to be listed comes from an Eastern Christian chronicle, generally known as the *Chronicle of Seert*, from the place in Mesopotamia where it was discovered at the beginning of the century. It was most likely written in the 13th century and in Arabic. It was published in 1907-1919 by the late Archbishop of Seert, Mar Addai Scher, in a scientific collection still being continued, called *Patrologia Orientalis* (Oriental Patrology). The reliability of this chronicle has been ascertained by comparison with other Eastern and Western sources.

In this source, the purpose of which is to recall the annals of the Mesopotamian Church, one finds twice the following entry. At a time between A.D. 250 and 300 David, the Bishop of Basrah, known then as Perat-d'Maishan, left his episcopal see, journeyed to India and did

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conversion work there. Many are supposed to have accepted his leadership and submitted to his preaching. David was considered by the chronicler as one of the eminent doctors of his Church.[1]

From this reference we could conclude that as early as the second half of the 3rd century, a Christian missionary came to India from Mesopotamia and established a community there. But we are not given any more details. This enterprise might have been connected with some difficult situation affecting the Malabar Christians, as appears from their local tradition, but this is mere hypothesis.

According to the great prelate J. S. Assemani (1687-1768), who did so much for the progress of Oriental studies, there is supposed to have been a certain *Bôd*, an Eastern priest, who acted as a kind of visitor to Christian communities in India and Persia. At the end of the 6th century he bore the title of *periodeutes* (Syriac : *Peridiota*), which means a delegate of a bishop entrusted with the teaching and visiting of Christian communities, generally in the country-side or in regions situated away from the centres. This *Bôd*, is supposed to have been conversant with Sanskrit, according to the source used by Assemani. Again here we have an allusion to relations existing between Indian Christians and the Mesopotamian Church. Unfortunately the text is not completely authenticated.

We might be induced to surmise from this testimony that the Indian Christians were numerous enough to be in need of some special visitation, which, according to the writings attributed to *Bôd*, would have been called for on account of heretical infiltrations, perhaps of Manichaean origin.[2]

Much more secure is another testimony from the abovementioned *Chronicle of Seert*. When a certain Bishop *Maruta*[3] was sent to Seleucia-Ctesiphon as ambassador of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (582-602) to the Sassanide Emperor Khosrau II (590-628), he met the Eastern Patriarch Sabrisho I (596-604), and he was presented perfumes and gifts by the patriarch, which had been sent to him from India and China.[4] This meeting must have taken place between 596 and 601. From the reference to presents sent to the patriarch from India, what can we infer ? Not immediately that they must have come from local Indian

1. ' Chronique de Seert, Histoire Nestorienne Inédite ', *PO*, vol. IV, p. 286 (26) and 292 (32).

2. J. S. Assemani, '*Bibliotheca Orientalis*,' Rome, 1719-28, vol. III, pp. 219-22.

3. Or called also *Pharwa*. At any rate he has not to be identified with another Mârûta, who was Jacobite Metropolitan of Tagrit some thirty years later (629-49).

4. ' Chronique de Seert,' *op. cit.*, vol. XIII, p. 497(177).

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Christians. However, if the relations existing already between Mesopotamian and Indian Christians are taken into account, we could perhaps see in this text a possible hint of tithes, ecclesiastical taxes, sent in kind to the patriarch by Indian Christians.

Fifty years later we get much more precise information from the pen of Patriarch Ishôyahb III, whose short pontificate is attributed to the years 650-1 or 647-8. He was living during the troubled years of the Arabic invasion, and had to face great difficulties in his own Church. This was particularly the case of the Metropolitan of Rew-Ardashîr, a town, now destroyed, situated in south-western Persia, in the region called the Fars. This metropolitan had broken hierarchical relations with the supreme head of the Eastern Church, This was tantamount to real schism. In two of his letters to Simeon, the guilty metropolitan, Ishôyahb did not stop at reproaching him with halting Christian life by indulging in illegitimate ordinations; the indignant patriarch clearly mentioned first that he thus interrupted 'the sacerdotal succession from the peoples of India',[5] and in the second place, that he received taxes from the far away peoples of India, as a sigh of ecclesiastical primacy over them.[6] Now the indication is quite clear. There were then Christians in India, who depended on the Metropolitan of Rew-Ardashîr, but who should have ultimately acknowledged the supremacy of the patriarch, according to ecclesiastical rules. The Indian Christians were therefore closely connected with the East Syrian Church. This is but a confirmation, about 180 years later, of the well-known description of Christian communities living in Ceylon, Malabar and around Kalliana, near Bombay, made by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the years 520/5-.[7]

The last series of documents of this first section all belong to the times of the Eastern Patriarch Timothy I (780-9-823), who was one of the greatest organizers of his Church.

Thanks to the considerable number of letters, left by him, we can gather some interesting information about Christians in India. For instance, we find mentioned the possibilities of inter-marriages between Christians of Mesopotamia and of India.[8] To a metropolitan he had just ordained for the see of Sarbaziyah, a town situated in the old Greek-named Gedrosia, today in south Balushistan, he told not to delay his journey thereto, and to take the utmost precaution on his way. The

5. 'Ishôyahb. Patr. III Liber Epistularum,' *CSCO*, text 11, pp. 251-2, transl. 12, p. 182.
6. *Ibid.*, 11, p. 257-8; 12, p. 186.
7. E. O. Windsedt, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, Cambridge, 1909, pp. 119, 321 ff., and notes pp. 382, 344 and 346.
8. J. Labourt, *De Timotheo I.....et Christianorum Orientalium Condicione sub Chalifis Abbasidis*, Paris, 1904, quest. XXXI, p. 68. ff.

good bishop, a rather simple monk, replied sharply : ' But I need something for my expenses '. And the patriarch retorted pointedly : ' Many monks voyage to India and China with only a stick and a purse. Consider yourself to have gone by sea with as much money as they had'[9] Hence, we know from this authoritative source that a great number of missionary-monks, hailing doubtless from the numerous monasteries of northern Mesopotamia, were accustomed to travel cheaply by sea to India. This shows also a renewal of Christian activities in India during Timothy's I pontificate.

Two other letters of the same prelate seem to render still more likely a greater expansion and consequent organisation of the Church in India. These letters are found inserted in the canonical collection of the Eastern Christian, Abulfarag Ibn-at-Taiyib ; during the first half of the 11th century he published in Arabic a book entitled *The Law of Christendom.* He was a well-informed man since he occupied in his Church important positions, such as priest, philosopher, even physician, and above all secretary to Patriarch Elias I (1028-49). His collection, that contains many extracts from previous collections and other documents, is usually accepted as reliable, though he tended to summarize the sources he utilized.[11]

The first letter is indicated as having been written by Timothy I to the Indian Christian Community as such, and it can be summarised as follows : ' In case of the election and ordination of the metropolitan [the metropolitian was usually elected by the people, in the presence of the suffragan bishops, especially in distant sees], the Indian Christians must not follow the king's advice but the patriarch's ; only after the latter's approval, will the metropolitan's affair be directed to the king.[12] Here we have to deal with a very interesting, though somewhat obscure, text. First of all there is little doubt now that there was a well-organized Christian community somewhere in India at the time. This community seems to have had particular relations with a king, who possessed some right in case of the election and ordination of the Metropolitan of India. Could we find here a confimation of the constant local tradition of a Christian king in Malabar ?[13] At any rate, this text is by far one of the most important of the period, but it is almost supplanted by the second summarized letter of Timothy I, as reported by Ibn-at-Taiyib

9. ' Timothei Patr. I. Epistulæ', *CSCO*, text 74, p. 107 ; transl. 75, p. 70.

10. E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India, Calcutta*, 1957, p. 15.

11. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Città del Vaticano, 1947, vol. II, pp. 173-6.

12. ' Ibn-at-Taiyib, Fiqh An-Nâsraniya ; " Das Recht der Christenheit" *CSCO*, text 167, p. 119 ; transl. 168, p. 121.

13. L. W. Browne, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas, Cambridge*, 1956, p. 18, and note 5, pp. 13-14.

Here the always watchful patriarch touches upon some canonical abuses that crept into the Christian community of India, particularly those involving the clergymen entitled to impart Sacred Orders on metropolitans, bishops, priests and deacons. Still more interesting for us was the addressee of the letter. He is called ' Arkn , the head of the faithful in India. '[14] The name ' Arkn ', though puzzling at first sight, is simply the shortened form of ' Archdeacon ' in Syriac, ' Arkan ', instead of the original borrowed from the Greek, 'Arkidiaqon '.[15] This use of shorter form for the word ' Archdeacon ' is similar to that of ' Metran ', ' Mitron ' for ' Metropolita ', also borrowed from the Greek to designate a metropolitan bishop. The archdeacon of the Indian Christians is also called by the patriarch ' the head of the faithful in Indid '.[16] This also can be easily understood since we know the great role played by the archdeacon in India and more precisely in Malabar.

According to the East Syrian law, the archdeacon was the closest collaborator of the bishop or of the metropolitan. He ranked first after the bishop and he had to perform important liturgical functions. But his administrative duties were no less capital. He was in charge of the whole clergy of the diocese; he had to examine candidates to Holy Orders, to give leave to clerics to travel, to receive their complaints and hear their quarrels, to supervise the temporalities of the Church, to look after the good order of churches and monasteries.[17] In India his importance was further enhanced for two reasons : he was a cleric from the land, whereas the metropolitan and other bishops were foreigners; his office seems to have been hereditary, in the Pakalomattam family. Thanks to that situation the Indian archdeacon enjoyed much wider faculties than his Mesopotamian brother. Four main rights were recognized to him : that of granting dispensations of all kinds; that of appointing candidates to churches and other benefices; the exclusive right of preferring candidates to Holy Orders; the administration of the properties of the Church. These weighty prerogatives were still such in the 16th century.[18] Their existence must have been due also to the fact that Mesopotamian prelates could not be sent regularly to India, to Malabar. There is no wonder therefore that until the 17th century we find the archdeacon of the Syrian Christians of Malabar signing letters with the title of ' Archdeacon of the

14. ' Ibn-at-Taiyib, Fiqh An'Nasrāniya,.....,' *op. cit.*

15. A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, London, 1894, glossary, p. 291.

16. In Arabic, ' Muttaqaddima,' the head of a group., a community. It contains the same root as the Syriac, ' Qdam,' ' to precede, to go before. '

17. ' Ibn-at-Taiyib...,' *op. cit.*, text 161, p. 87; transl. 162, p. 83; 161, pp. 86-7, 100-1, 126; 162, pp. 78-9, 92-116; text 167, pp. 143-4, transl. 168, p. 141, See also *Liber Patrum* (Latin transl. by I. M. Vosté, O.P.), Città del Vaticano, 1940. pp. 29-30.

18. Placid of St. Joseph, T.O.C.D., *Fontes Iuris Canonici Syro-Malankarensium*, Città del Vaticano, 1940, pp. 78-4.

whole India'. This last title corresponded almost exactly to the one given to him by Patriarch Timothy I.

With those letters of Timothy I to the Indian Christians of his jurisdiction we close the first section of our short survey.

2. *Christian Hierarchy in India*:

From what we have mentioned above, and from other sources which cannot be quoted here, it seems clear that the Indian Christians were not given a real hierarchy till perhaps the beginning of the 6th century. But they must have been visited by bishops and priests, as we have also indicated.

Since the middle of the 5th century, the ecclesiastical organization of the East Syrian Church was excellent, and it improved in quality and efficiency during the next centuries. From what we can suspect, the Indian Christians most probably depended first on the Bishop of Basrah, Pêrat d'Maïshan, the third in rank among the metropolitan sees of the centre. In the course of the 5th century, the metropolitan see of Rêw-Ardashîr, was erected. It bore the title of Persia and of the islands of the sea. The last epithet could have included India and Ceylon. From Ishôyahb's III letters, which have been already reviewed, it seems certain that the Indian Christians depended on Rêw-Ardashîr by the middle of the 7th century as far as the metropolitan jurisdiction was concerned, though, according to Cosmas Indicopleustes, there were already one or two bishops residing in India during the first quarter of the 6th century.

M'ana, Metropolitan of Rêw-Ardashîr between 485 and 497, sent his translations of Diodorus of Tarsus (d. before 394 A.D.) to India and elsewhere.[19] This seems to indicate that the Indian Christians already depended on that metropolitan see at the end of the 5th century.

When was the Indian metropolitan see established? According to another text of Ibn-at-Taiyib, there was already a metropolitan in India at the time of Timothy I (780-9-823), since the great patriarch was obliged to forbid the bishops to ordain the metropolitan and reserved this right to himself.[20] Hence, it seems that, at least as far as India was concerned, the metropolitan was not ordained previously by the patriarch, though it was the custom for other metropolitan sees, even those of 'the exterior'. This 'exterior' was attributed to the sees

19. 'Chronique de Seert,' *PO*, vol. VII, pp. 116-7.
20. 'Ibn-at-Taiyib...,' *CSCO*, text 167, p. 118; transl. 168, p. 120.

which did not take part in the election of the patriarch, and which kept some sort of secundary status.[21]

On the other hand, around 650 A.D., there was no Metropolitan of India as yet, a state of affairs which can be deduced from the letters of Patriarch Ishôyahb III to the Metropolitan of Rêw-Ardashîr. Hence it can be concluded that the Indian see was set up between c. 650 and c. 790 A.D. If we ought to follow again Ibn-at-Taiyib the Indian metropolitan see was erected by Patriarch Ishôyahb,[22] but he does not say which of the two patriarchs of the same name, Ishôyahb II (628-44-46) or Ishoyahb III (650-7). At any rate, owing to its precedence over China, the Indian metropolitan see existed already at the same time of Ishôyahb III, about the middle of the 7th century. Perhaps it was created to prevent the Indian Christians from falling a prey to the intrigues of the Metropolitan of Rêw-Ardashîr.

The title of metropolitan, as we know it from the sources quoted above as well as from later one, was never given a particular place or town in India. This practice was in common with the metropolitan sees outside Mesopotamia. They were often meant more for peoples than for a particular city.[23]

However, as far as India was concerned, it is almost certain that during the Middle Ages until the Portuguese period the metropolitan was living in Malabar, and more precisely at Cranganore. This can be inferred from the colophon of a Syriac manuscript written in Malabar, and now kept in the Vatican Library. It contains the Epistles of St. Paul. It was completed in June 1301, near the church of St. Cyriacat Sengalê, city of Malabar, by the priest Zacharias Bar-Joseph Bar-Zacharias. The latter mentioned also the names of Yahbalaha III, the Patriarch of the Eastern Church (1281-1317), who was actually a Mongol[24] and of the Indian Metropolitan, Mar Yaqôb.[25] Now the name of Sengalê was also found in another Syriac manuscript of the same library and written Malabar. Though it dates only from March 1510, it provides us with a clue that serves us to establish the exact emplacement of Sengalê. For the colophon of this second Malabar manuscript clearly identified Sengalê with Cranganore which is written ' Qarungalor ' in Syriac, an obvious corruption of ' Kodungalûe ', the exact spelling of

21. J. Dauvillier, ' Les provinces chaldéennes ' de l' Extérieur" au Moyen Age ', *Mélanges offerts au R.P.F. Caovallera*, Toulouse, 1948, pp. 270-2.

22. *Op. cit.*, text 167, p. 121 ; transl. 168, p. 123.

23. J. Dauvillier, *art. cit.*, p. 278.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 304, 307.

25. E. Tisserant, *op .cit.*, p. 17 ; G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo di manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano, 1939, pp. 176-7.

the original name. Besides, Yule and K. P. Padmanabha Menon have sufficiently investigated the names given to Kodungalur, so that we have a whole string of testimonies for the middle-ages pointing to the use of ' Shenkala, Singuyli and even Jangli '.[26]

During the 16th century the residence of the metropolitan seems to have been shifted to Angamali, then an important centre of the Syrians, since they had there a kind of training school for priests. This change of residence was likely motivated by the undisirable presence of the Portuguese on the coastal area, comprising also Cranganore, which had become one of the Portuguese strongholds against the Zamorin.

From the few testimonies which we have adduced in this paper, one can find confirmation of the already known fact of close relation between the Mesopotamian Church and the Indian Christians. By the end of the 8th century they were well organized and the position of their archdeacon was prominent. This situation leads us to conclude that local traditions of the Syrian Christians of Malabar are strengthened a good deal by those outside testimonies. Already then they must have been most numerous in Kerala. Hence it is not surprising to find that already in the 13th century the metropolitan resided there. It might have been the case at a much earlier date.

One can only wish and hope that more sources hailing from the Christians of Mesopotamia and Persia will be made available in critical editions. They will help us to throw more light on that period of history so momentous for the past history of the Syrian Christians of India.

26. G. Levi della Vida, *op.cit.*, p. 188 ; K. P. Padmanabha Menon. *A history of Kerala written in the form of Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar, Ernakulam*, 1924, Vol. I, pp. 311-6. H. Yule, H. Cordier, *Cathay and the Way thither*, London, 1915-6, vol. I, p. 82 ; vol. II, pp. 184-6 ; vol. IV, p. 78.

Abbreviations : *PO* for *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris.

CSCO, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain-Washington.

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THE MYSTERIOUS NAMPŪTIRI

SHRI K. V. KRISHNA AYYAR

DESCENDED from the earliest of Brahmin settlers in Kerala, the Nampūtiri seems to be as hoary as the Himalayas. Free till recent times from all vulgar assaults on his seat of Himalayan eminence at the top of Kerala Society, he seems to be also as mysterius as the Himalayan snow-man, about whom every climber has something to say, though no one has actually seen him. On closer analysis it will appear that the peculiarity of his customs and manners is due to his early separation from the parent stock and isolation or adaptation to a new environment.

He performs the annual ceremonies for the departed according to the presiding star of the day of death; this was also once the rule for the other Brahmins, though now they have adopted the phase of the moon on the particular day. Even this latter reform was adopted by some Nampūtiri families: till A.D. 1792 the annual ceremony for the Cempakarseri Brahmin was being performed on the New Moon Day of *Vriscika* (*November-December*) in the Guruvayur temple. Among the non-Nampūtiris also the funeral rites for the dead are completed only at the end of the year after the death. The Nampūtiris however did not adopt the new practice—which the others have added—of performing the rites in advance also, lest the person, who cremates the dead, and therefore has to perform the rites, should die before the end of the year. The daughters of Tamil and Tulu Brahmins do not indeed perform the annual rites for their departed parents as their Nampūtiri sisters do. But certain practices show that they used to perform these rites also. While the sister's husband is invited as a matter of courtesy, the sister and her children are invited to participate in the *pradakṣiṇa namaskāra* or circumamabulation and prostration, of the distinguished guests, who represent the departed ancestors.

Consummation after marriage was the rule among other Brahmins also till child marriage came into vogue. They observe the old custom by insisting on the bridegroom sleeping at night, though alone, in the hall of his father-in-law's house, where the *sapta padi* or ceremony of the seven steps which completes the marriage, has been performed.

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Among the Tulu Brahmins, the *Mantras* of the consummation ceremony are recited over the child-wife and boy-husband by the officiating priest.

The Nampūtiris prohibit *Sati* and *Muṇḍatva*, or the shaven head for the widow. The *Smṛtis* also do not insist upon *Sati*, though they praise it as an act of supreme devotion and an ideal to be followed They insist however upon the widow leading the life of a *Sannyāsin*. and later practice improved upon the injunction by appearance also conforming to the rule.

The Nampūtiris prohibit the practice of taking money for giving ; away a girl in marriage. The *Smṛtis* also condemn it as *Āsura*, or befitting the *Asuras*.

The plunge-bath for purification is not unique. The *Smṛtis* prescribe two baths a day for the *Brahmacāri*, or student, and the *Gṛhastha*, or householder, and three baths for the *Vanaprastha*, or forest-dweller, and the *Sanuyāsin* who has formally renounced the world. In addition, the Brahmins had also to purify themselves by a bath whenever they are polluted by the touch of a non-Brahmin or a Brahmin woman in her periods and their approach within certain limits. This rule of course is however relaxed for the sick and the ailing and in regions where water is scarce.

The prohibition of cleaning the teeth with sticks is found in the *Smṛtis*. The rules forbidding the eating of stale food, the taking of food in the company of the uninitiated or women, and the marriage between the children of the mother's brother and father's sister are common to all the Brahmins of North India. Apastamba recognized these customs as peculiarly southern. So the prohibition of these customs for those Nampūtiris who are guided by the *Sūtras* of Āpastamba gives us a clue to find out the period when their ancestors left North India for the south.

The Nampūtiri villages do not consist of a number of houses standing in a row or street, but of lonely houses within extensive compounds, widely separated from one another. There is no necessity therefore for a common crematorium. There is room enough in every family compound for setting apart a small plot for burning the dead body of the departed member. The influence of the environment can been seen in other customs also. The top-knot in which the Namputiri lady neatly gathers up the rich flowing hair of the head is the best means of keeping it dry, healthy and free from stench. In a hot and moist climate clothing has necessarily to be light ; where it is scarce it has also to be minimal. Further, Kerala is a country of ups and downs,

with deep and narrow lanes, sandy or prickly when dry, slushy or slippery when wet and furious though shallow streams when raining. And with thorny shrub to right and left, it will be certainly unwise to encumber oneself, with four or five yards of cloth—for a woman it may be even nine—as in Tamilnad, east of the Ghats.

For the restriction of marriage to the eldest son, for polygamy, for the free connubial unions with women immediately below in the social hierarchy, and for the impartibility of property the *Smṛtis* themselves are in part responsible. They confer a special distinction on the eldest son as *Dharmaja*, or begotten to fulfil the *Dhṛama*, while the younger sons are all *Karmajas*, or begotten of lust. They impose certain religious obligations on the house-holder which prevent him from freely moving out of his village. To enable—or to induce—young men to go out to earn their livelihood or to take the vow of *Naiṣṭika Brahmacārya*, or lifelong study, they declare that a son born to an elder brother not only releases the father but also his brothers from their debt to the ancestors and entitles one and all to *Mokṣa*, or salvation. They say, further, that so long as the family property remains undivided and food is prepared in common for all, it is enough if one of the members offers worship to the ancestors, gods and guests; but as soon as the family property is divided and food is cooked separately, ancestors, gods and guests should also be worshipped separately. They also permit *Mantra varja* unions or unions without *Mantras* with non-*Dvijas*.

In spite of the restriction that a Brahmin might have recourse to a non-*Dvija* only after he had contracted a *Mantra-pūrva* marriage with a woman belonging to each of the three *Dvija* castes of Brahmana, Kṣatṛiya and Vaiśya, *Mantra-varja* unions increased day by day. The younger sons preferred them as they did not entail hard and irksome religious responsibilities. The eldest brother encouraged them lest the younger brothers should demand a partition of the family property. In the end however the *Mantra-varja* unions became a social problem. It became increasingly difficult for parents to get suitable husbands for thir daughters. So Vasiṣṭa prohibited the *Mantra-varja* unions altogether.

While in the lands east of the Ghats the prohibition was observed, in Kerala the rule became a dead-letter. In the first place, Kerala lies far away from the great Brahmin centres of the north. Secondly, the people of Kerala welcomed unions with Brahmins. The matrilineal Nayars were attracted by the learning and spirituality of the Brahmins, in strong contrast to their own murderous occupations of hunting and fighting. Their women also preferred Brahmins as they were exempt from the risks which their warrior consorts were exposed to. The Brahmins welcomed these unions as they were able to enjoy all the

advantages of a domestic life without any of its worries. Moreover, if they were lucky enough to be selected for a lady belonging to a noble or princely house they were maintained with all the luxuries which their lady consorts could command and even given some pocket money. Above all, there was the vast undefined prestige and influence which he could command as the father of the heir presumptive who might ultimately by efflux of time become the ruling chief himself. The younger sons keep up the fiction of conforming to the *Smṛti* by claiming to be *Naiṣṭika Brahmacāris*. However high and exalted their position may be outside, how many so ever their children by the non-Brahmin lady, and whatever their occupation, merchant, broker, money-lender, etc., their legal status in the family is that of the *Naiṣṭika Brahmacāri*, who has taken the vow of life-long study, neither less nor more !

In these circumstances the equilibrium between the sexes can be maintained only by polygamy. And polygamy is allowed by the *Smṛtis*. As a matter of fact with the elaboration of sacrifices, it was becoming also a necessity. The preparatory and ancillary work was growing beyond the capacity of a single wife ; as the poet suggests, Kaundiya Virunandayan, one of the most respected of Brahmins, could complete his twenty-one sacrifices (three groups of seven sacrifices, all of which every orthodox Brahmin was expected to perform) only by the hearty co-operation of his wives, each doing her allotted task (*Puram* 166).

Perhaps the *Purdah* system came into vogue as a mark of distinguishing the Nampūtiri lady from the Nayar ladies to whom overtures could be made freely. (By this it is not meant that they were licentious or immoral. After all morality and incest are only relative to time, place and circumstance. Not only among the most civilized Ptolemys of Egypt and Incas of Peru but also among a branch of the Ikṣvākus brothers married sisters). Perhaps it was intended to help the *Naiṣṭika Brahmacāris* to keep their vows and protect them against the temptations of *Aṣṭanga Maithuna*, or eight limbs or forms of lust.

The mother-tongue of the Nampūtiri, like that of the Nayar, is Malayāḷam. But the later immigrants retain the language of their original homes, the Emprāntiri and the Pōṛṛi their Tulu, and the Ayyar and the Pallāi their Tamil, though they are more proficient in Malayāḷam. This shows that the Nampūtiris had entered Kerala long before the Tulus and the Tamils ; on account of their separation and isolation from their original homes they completely forgot their original language and adoptd the language of the people of the land ; as this language gradually became Malayāḷam, Malayāḷam also became their mother-tongue as that of the others. And as Malayāḷam has grown out of the language of the Samgham Age, represented by the first three centuries

of the Christian era, the Nampūtiri is the lineal descendant of the Brahmin of the Samgham Epoch.

The Brahmin of the Samgham Age was as influential as the Nampūtiri of the early British days and even before. The Cera kings bent their knees only before them, and they gave them whole districts. One of them, Kapilai, is said to have received all the lands as far as the eye could see from the top of a hill! In Meḷattūr Agnihōtṛi we have the spiritual descendant of Viṇṇan dayan; the Poygaiāḷvār we have the priestly Counseller Talappaṇṇa, poet and devotee Mēlputtūr and Saint Pūntanam all combined; and in Paranar and Kapilai we have the fore-runners of Ceruśśēri.

2032

THE VILLARVETTAM ROYAL FAMILY

SHRI V. C. GEORGE

IN those far-off days when Kerala acknowledged the paramountcy of the Perumals, who governed the entire land with their capital at Thiruvanchikulam, situated in the vicinity of modern Cranganore, there were many subordinate kings and kinglets who administered component states, varying in size, and enjoying different degrees of sovereignty, from one end of the country to other. Scions of several such ruling houses are still with us, reminding us of the achievements and glories of their ancestors; but some others have left only their indistinct names in the pages of history, and sundry ruins and relics in *terra firma* to announce their one-time existence. The Villarvettam or Villarvattam family of Udayamperur belongs to this latter group.

The origin of some of these ruling houses is shrouded in black oblivion. The extent and situation of their territories also remain unknown. Just as dukedoms and earldoms used to be bestowed in medieval Europe by Emperors and Kings on their relatives, friends and dependents for acts of chivalry and daring in fields of battle or for significant and selfless services rendered in other spheres, so the Perumals in Kerala conferred titles and territories on those of their officers and retainers who deserved special recognition at their hands. Kingdoms and principalities also sprang up a new, due to the splitting up of old ones owing to various causes. The number of ruling houses in Kerala increased still further, when the last of the Perumals abdicated the throne, and had his territories distributed among a chosen few of his military leaders and friends. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era, we come across more than a score of ruling houses in Kerala, the noteworthy among them being Cochin, Cranganore, Venat, Calicut, Parappanat, Kottayam, Beppur, Vettath or Tanur, Kadathanad, Idapally, Alingat, Parur, Ayirur, Vadakkankur, Thekankoor, Parakatt, Quilon, Attingal, Kayenkulam, Moothedath, and Elyedath. Besides these there were Nambidis, Kaimals, Karthas and Mambiars and other minor rulers who exercised quasi-regal authority over numerous portions of the country. Included in this category were Kodassery Changarankotha, Chankarankanda and Kunnatheri Karthas, Murianad and Velloos Nambiars, Punnathoor, Kakad and Venganad Nambills and the five Kaimals of Cheranalloor and other localities known as Anjikaimals.

The minor rulers mainly belonged to three classes regarding their powers and privileges: Svarūpis, Prabhus and Madampis, and were obliged to render military and other services to the overlord concerned. Some writers use the terms Rajahs, Naduvashees and Desavashees to denote respectively the three classes mentioned above. The vassals though possessing territorial jurisdiction were not to mint coins or to engage in war without the consent of the overlord. Some of them were never allowed these rights. Many of the minor ruling houses belonged to the Nair community, others to the Brahmin and Kshatriya communities, and some to the Christian community. Of the seventy-two Lords, or Madampis of Karappuram, which lay between Cochin and Porakatt, one was a Christian, and the rest were Hindus belonging to the Nair community.

Personal virtues according to the standard of the time and military gallantry came to be valued very much in those days; and the Christians of the country due to their commercial and martial achievements attained a position of influence far in excess of what their numerical strength warranted. All over the land there were Christian Panikkers who taught in their Kalaries the art of warfare to Christian and Nair pupils alike, as there were Nair Panikkers and their Kalaries rendering the same service. Sirdar K. M. Panikkar alludes to this fact thus: "The Christians of Malbar formed an important community with special rights and privileges of their own. The great majority of them, as their tradition declares, were converted from high class Hindus, Nambudiris and Nairs, though at a later period a considerable number of lower caste men seem to have been converted. They followed all professions, commercial and agricultural, and also were recruited into separate companies for warfare by some Chieftains.....Socially the Christians occupied an important position. Important commercial privileges and absolute religious freedom had been guaranteed to them from the earliest days of their existence in Malabar. They were governed by their own Metrans or Bishops. Politically also they enjoyed considerable influence. There is a tradition that they had amongst them a ruler of their own known as the Rajah of Villiarvattam. The tradition of an extinct royal family of that name is still prevalent in Malabar; but accounts vary as to whether it was Brahmin or Christian in religious faith. However that be, before the Portuguese arrived on the scene the family had become extinct." (*Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 22). The following extracts from recognized works point decisively to the Christian character of the Villarvettam Royal family: "Tradition testifies that St. Thomas Christians had a king of their own with his capital at Diamper (Udayamperur). Some monuments still remaining in Diamper favour this tradition. There are also a few documents which support it. When Vasco Da Gamma arrived in Cochin in 1502, the St. Thomas Christians sent to him representatives. They informed

Gama that they had a king of their own in former times and showed him the sceptre of the last king. It was a red rod tipped with silver, having three crosses at the top. They presented the sceptre to Gama and sought protection against the Muhammadans. Gama solemnly accepted the sceptre and promised protection in the name of the King of Portugal. (*Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 147). In process of time the prosperity of the Christians of Quilon and Cochin so increased that they gave themselves a King. The first Beliartes, called King of the Christians of St. Thomas, reigned in Malabar; and when after him some of his sons had reigned, at last by adoption the dynasty passed from the Christians to the Heathen Kings of Diamper. When the Portuguese first came to the shores the Malabar Christians were obeying the King of Cochin." (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalia*, T. IV, p.442).

It does not require much critical sense to understand that Villarvattam, Villiarvattam, Villarvettam and Beliartes are variations of the same word come to use through the course of the ages owing to various causes. The original term in which these variations depend is Villal-vottam composed of the two Malayalam words Villal (archer) and Vottam (light) the composite word meaning " Light of Archers." It has been already stated that the Perumals of Kerala used to bestow ruling authority over portions of the country to their dependents and officers in reward for proved martial skill or some service to the State of an extra-ordinary nature. A Syrian Christian named Thomman, as tradition would have it, earned the Perumal's favour by means of his skill in archery, and the ruler, to honour him as well as the Syrian Christian community gave him the title ' Villalvettam " and made him ruler of a portion of Kerala territory with Udayamperur as its capital. It is believed that the Cheraman Perumal who welcomed Thomas of Cana and his fellow-immigrants into Malabar in the fourth century A.D. set up the Villalvettam royal house of Thomman, the Syrian Christian. The opinion of Giraud (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, p. 1276) that ' The Christian Dynasty seems to have lasted from the fourth to the fourteenth century ' corroborates this view. The familiar saying current in the country " Velleduthavarial Villalvattathinu Thulyanilla," (Among Archers None Equals Villalvettam) gives us an idea of the circumstances under which the Perumal choice fell on Thomman, the Syrian. Though The royal palace at Udayamperur was demolished some centuries after the setting up of the dynasty, during the ravages of wars frequent among Kerala rulers of old its site may still be observed at ' Kovilakathum Vely ' (Palace Maidan) close to the ' Kovilakathum Kulam ' (The Palace Tank) at Udiyamperur. It is believed that the ancient church at Udiyamperur was built on a votive offering by the Villalvettam Rajah. But since the year of the foundation of the church according to available records appears to be A.D. 510, it is reasonable to think that it was not

be first ruler of the dynasty that had the sacred edifice build. It must be a gift of the first or second successor of Rajah Thomman.

The Rajah of Villalvettam had special privileges and rights recognised by the other Rulers of Kerala, as the national head of the Syrian Christian Community. He shared such rights and privileges with the Bishop or Archdeacon, the spiritual head of the community. The Rajah and the spiritual head had their special rights and privileges recognised in all the states and territories where Syrian Christians were residing. What Sirdar Panikkar remarks with reference to the socio-religious conditions in ancient Kerala helps us to appraise the situation properly. Here is this well considered opinion: "Politically divided into small principalities Malabar was one from the point of view of social and religious organisation. The very fact that there were no kingdoms and states but only Rajhas and Chiefs who had often rights and proportions in each other's territory helped the growth of an extra-political socials amity." (*op. cit.*, p. 17). The author adds: "Like the Catholic Church in Europe before the Reformation the Nambudiri Brahmins did not recognise political boundaries: and what is more the Rajahs themselves had no such territorial notions as to expect powerful religious or social organisations within their areas to yield unitary obedience to them. The authority of religious organisations was placed clearly above political divisions." (*Ibid.*, p. 18). And again "there was a theocratic oligarchy which managed its own affairs without any considerable intervention of temporal power." (*Ibid.*, p. 19) The Villalvettam Rajahs formed for several centuries part of the 'theocratic oligarchy' of the Kerala Syrian Chrisian Community. The Community did not lag behind the pre-Reformation Catholics of Europe or the Nambudiri Brahmins of Malabar in the enjoyment of their religious and social rights and privileges.

We have not, at our command, data that can help us to draw up a list of the Rulers of the Villalvettam family from the first Rajah to the last of the line. There is reason to believe that this roal house attained the zenith of glory in the ninth century of the Christian Era, during which two Chaldean Bishops Mar Sabor and Mar Proth carried on the administration of the Kerala Syrian Christian community, one having his episcopal seat at Udayamperur and the other at Quilon. We have the authority of Le Quien (*Oriens Christinaus*, Tom II, p. 1276) in support of this view. In 1330, Pope John XXII sent Friar Jordanus Catalini to India appointing him as the first Latin Bishop of Quilon. The Friar had with him a letter of recommendation addressed to the Nazarani Chief of Quilon and to all the Nazarani Christians of the place. Since the Villalvettam ruler was the "Lord of all Nazaranis" throughout Kerala, the Nazarani Lord referred to in the Papal Letter must have been the head of the Villalvettam family at that time. Another

Papal Letter addressed to the Villalvettam ruler was sent by Pope Eugene IV in 1480. Therein the Pope addresses the ruler his "Beloved son in Christ, Thomas the Emperor of India" and wishes him "All Prosperity and Apostolic Blessing." The following passage in the letter deserves special mention: "There has often reached as a constant rumour that Your Serenity and all who are subjects of your kingdom are true Christians." This letter is quoted by Mckenzie in his chapter on Christianity in Travancore incorporated in the Travancore State Manual. (*Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 147). This Letter was in recommendation of a Franciscan Friar, Albert Sartiano, appointed Papal Legate to the East.

At one time, the territorial authority of the Villalvettam Family extended towards the north and covered Chennamangalam on the Alwaye river. That part of the river close to Chennamangalam was called Kanjirapuzha, and the land adjacent to Kanjirapuzha came to be known as Kanjirakara. Ibn Battuta, the famous traveller, visited Calicut in 1342 and from there journeyed southwards to Quilon. During the journey he visited Kanjirakara and wrote that it was ruled at that time by an Emir. The Cochin State Manual says that this Emir was none other than the Villarvettam ruler. (Chap. 2, p. 158).

This shows that at the time of the visit of Ibn Battuta the Villalvettam rulers had their residence at Chennamangalam. The circumstance under which the ruler removed his capital from Udayamperur to Chennamangalom is not known. We are also ignorant of the events that led Paliyath Achan who was, according to the *Cochin State Manual*, 'an insignificant chief under Villarvettam Rajah' (*Ibid.*) to be the Lord of Chennamangalam. The site and remains of the place of the Villarvettam Rajahs are, according to the same authority, to be seen on the top of a hill towards the eastern portion of the present Chennamangalam village.

Tradition gives us only scant details about the extinction of the Villarvettam Family. The last male ruler of the line, Yokob Svarūpi, and his Rani had no issue after several years of wedded life. Praying for a child they sought the intercession of St. Thomas, the Apostle, and went on a pilgrimage to the Mylapore Shrine with costly votive offerings. The Rani, some time after, was enciente, and gave birth to a princess. This only child of the royal couple, heiress to the throne, was given in marriage to a Prince of the Perumpadappu royal family, who had been converted to Christianity; and the peaceful administration of the state went on for some time after the demise of Rajah Yokob. Subsequently the prince-consort reverted to Hinduism, the

princess died, and the territories of the kingdom of Villarvettam were distributed among some of the neighbouring Hindu rulers, the Cochin royal family getting the major portion of the same. Thus began the special right of protection which Cochin assumed over the Syrian Christian Community of Kerala. Raulin in his work on the Synod of Diamper and K. P. Padmanabha Menon in his history of Cochin have dealt with the last phase of the story of the Villarvettam royal house. The meteor-like career of this royal family in the vast firmament of Kerala History is referred to by the historian Milne Rae in these words: 'How long the kingdom lasted it is impossible to say. The story like so many parts of the story of this Church ends with a sigh. Their royal crown fell to the hands of a neighbouring sovereign of superior strength. Their king dying, they plaintively relate, without a male heir, the Rajah of Cochin came into possession by inheritance, and so they have ever since been a subject people, subject to the non-Christian Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore. (*The Syrian Church in India*, pp. 179—80).

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FOREIGN CONTRIBUTION TO KERALA CULTURE TILL THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

REV. FR. C. K. MATTOM

1. *Kerala Geographically* :

KERALA, as she is at present, is the tract of land between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats, comprising the erstwhile states of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar with a portion of South Canara.

2. *Origin*:

Tradition asserts the creation of the country to Paraśurāma, the Warrior Sage. He, it appears, threw his axe southwards from Gokarṇam and it fell at Kanyakumari. This fact is said to have happened in the 'Treta Yug' a (yoga) 1500 B.C. Afterwards he brought people from Ahi-kshathra (old U.P.) in the North and they are known as Namboodiri Brahmins. But the Nāgas seem to have occupied Kerala earlier. They were at loggerheads with the immigrants with the result that the latter wanted to leave the place, but this was prevented by the introduction of certain peculiar customs by Paraśurāma, which turned the immigrants into a particular community. The new community was known as Namboodiri Brahmins. Though this story of the origin of Kerala is denied by scholars, the advent of Namboodiri Brahmins is accepted by all. They formed the highest strata of society. Scholars say that Kerala has sprung up from the sea through volcanic erruption.

3. *Antiquity* :

In the second Chronicles of the Old Testament Chap. 9 Verse 21, we read 'For the King's ships went to Tharshish with the servants of Hiram every three years, once came the ships of Tharshish bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks." Evidently these were from Malabar. The Mahābhāratha mentions a pilgrimage to Cape Comorian and Varkala. The Chera King Udian Cheral is said to have supplied provisions to warriors of Kurukshetra. In the Ramāyaṇa it is stated that Sugriva sent emmissaries to Kerala in quest of Sita. Hewit says that the teakwood imported from Kerala was found in the ruins of UR. Many scholars rightly conclude that trade with the

West was in vogue in Kerala as early as 8000 B.C. The Phoenicians came in search of sandal-wood, ivory, and spices. Cranganore (Muziri) was the most important sea-port in the whole of the East in those days. Pepper, Cinnamon, Cardamoms, Ginger, Cassia and other spices were exported to the nations of the West from Kerala. The Romans had trade with Kerala on a larger scale. In Cranganore there was even a temple of Augustus. Roman coins found in the various parts of Malabar prove that Roman influence existed in the early days. At Kuravilangad, my native place, I have found in my younger days, a lamp-post in the church with the Roman Emperor's emblem. Megasthenes in the 4th century B.C. has mentioned Thripunithura as a sea-port. Kaduthuruthy near Vaikom, and Thuruthy near Changanacherry, now several miles inland, were other sea-ports. The languages of the West, according to Caldwell, contain a large number of Malayalam words. These words found their way into the Roman vocabulary through centuries of commercial intercourse. Hippalus guaged in 45 A.D. the monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean and this shortened the voyage from Red Sea to Cranganore to 40 days. Shri T. K. Velu Pillai in his *State Manual* says that Sahyadri is very much older than even the Himalayas. Herodotus (5th century B.C.) asserts that the trade in Cinnamon and Cassia, the two Malabar products, was in the hands of the Egyptians and Phoenicians. Pliny's Natural History (50 A.D.) and Plotomy's Geography (150 A.D.) possess Dravidian words. This fact shows that contact existed in those days between Rome and Kerala.

4. *The immigrants* :

The Pulaya, Paraya, Kurava and Vetta are considered to be the aborigines of Malabar. Then came the Dravidians. Nairs also seem to be one of the earlier settlers. But their arrival and the place of their origin are purely conjectural, according to K. P. P. Menon (*vide History of Kerala*, vol. III, p. 178). When the Namboodiris migrated to Malabar the Nagas were the prominent people. They were serpent worshippers. In my younger days the Naga worship was very common. They combed their hair and gathered it up so that the knots standing on one side of the head looked like the expanded hood of a cobra. Mr. P. T. Sreenivasa Iyengar also makes a reference to it in his *History of the Tamils* on page 98. When the Aryans came to Kerala, they found that the land was enjoying a high standard of civilisation under the Dravidians. This fact is attested by Will Durant in his *History of Civilisation* vol. 1, p. 895. According to Hewit and Risley, Kerala was the cradle of civilisation. The excavations at Mohanjo-daro and Harappa testify to the culture of the Dravidians even in the pre-Christian centuries.

5. *The Namboodiri Brahmins* :

They formed the upper strata of society in Kerala. They settled down in Kerala long before the Christian era. But Logan is of the view that they came to Malabar only by the 8th century. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai in his *State Manual*, has categorically denied this contention. According to Mr. K. P. P. Menon Namboodiris came to Malabar earlier than the Christian Era (see *Kerala History*, vol. 1, p. 76). Oollur S. Parameswara Iyer in his *History of Kerala Literature*, vol. 1, p. 86: says that the Namboodiris reached Kerala long before the 12th century B.C. Vedas were in vogue in Kerala and the vedic cult existed long before the Christian Era. This is admitted by all.

6. *The St. Thomas Christians* :

It is an undisputed fact that St. Thomas, one of the 12 disciples of Jesus Christ, came to Malabar in A.D. 52 and converted several caste Hindus among whom were four prominent Namboodiri Illoms, *viz.*, Kally, Kalikavu, Sankarapuri and Pakalomattom. The descendants of all these four illoms are still living in my native village at Kuravilangādu. A story is current in Malabar about St. Thomas and the Namboodiri Brahmins. St. Thomas once went near the Palyur Hindu temple dedicated to Siva. Then the Namboodiris were taking bath in the temple tank. They were throwing water into the air chanting Gayathri Mantram. The Apostle, on seeing this, approached them. A discussion followed as to the object of throwing water up and at the end St. Thomas told them that if he threw water up into the air it would remain suspended there instead of falling down. Namboodiris agreed that, if Thomas could do so, they would all embrace his religion. St. Thomas entered the tank, prayed, took some waer in his hands and threw it up into the air, and lo ! the water remained high up without falling down. Eventually, the drops turned out to be beautiful flowers. The majority of the Brahmanas who witnessed this miracle, kept their promise and became Christians immediately. A minority refused and they left the place saying ' Inniethekuly Vembanadu ', a place three miles away, from Palayur. They cursed the locality and the place is known as ' Chavakkadu ' even to this day. The Brahmins of those parts to this day abstain from drinking water from Palayur. I have personally visited this place and have heard the people of the place narrate this story. (See my book *Charithra Charcha*). It is said that there is a ' Nagara Grandha Variola ' kept even today in Kolathum Illom in North Malabar, which mentions in detail the whole event, testifying to its veracity. I have tried to get at it, but have failed. It is hoped that it will one day see the light of day. Nagam Iyah in his *State Manual*, vol. 11, p. 22, says that there is no doubt as to the correctness of the tradition that St. Thomas came to Malabar and converted a few families of Namboodiris.....He further states that certain Syrian

Christian women wore clothes as Namboodiri women do and moved about screening themselves with huge umbrellas.....and would not marry.....but from families of aristocratic descent. *idem.*, p. 128.

7. *The Immigration of the Ezhavas*:

From Ceylon seems to have taken place towards the end of the second century A.D. The Brahmanas who came to Kerala did not mingle with Dravidians. But they imposed their culture on them. The exclusiveness of the orthodox Namboodiris must have paved the way for the spreading of Buddhism and Jainism. The exponents of both were learned men. Amara the famous lexicographer is a Jain. No book was so popular as his Kosha. Monuments found in different parts of Kerala today testify to the prevalence of both Buddhism and Jainism in early days. Soon after the advent of the Namboodiris, Kerala was divided among a number of petty Rajahs under the suzerainty of the Chera Kings, who were also known as Perumals later. The Namboodiri Brahmins were all in all. Sukasandeśa, a very ancient book, mentions the rule of a Perumal in Thiruvanchikulam. The Christians in course of time chose their own king, Villalvettam.

8. *Thomas of Kana*:

Thomas of Kana, a Syrian Christian merchant, came to Kerala in A.D. 345 with 372 families of Syrian Christians from Bagdad, Nineve and Jerusalem. The major part of these got mingled with the Namboodiri Christians who were very high in social status just like their Namboodiri brethern. They formed themselves into a separate community, known as Nazranis or The St. Thomas Christians. The Nazrani Community comprised the old Syrians who were already in Malabar, the high caste converts and the new Syrian immigrants. They have played an important role in moulding the Kerala culture. They made themselves very strong and enterprising in trade and commerce and enjoyed foreign connections to a great extent thus improving the economy of the country. Coming as they did from centuries of Christian education and civilisation, they served to enrich the cultural outlook of Kerala too. The Syrian Christians were the prominent merchants in Pepper. Their importer was Venice. Thus venetian gold coins began to flow in large quantities into Malabar.

That the old Testament was read in Kerala from early days can be seen from the fact that St. Thomas on his arrival at Cranganore visited the Synagogue on a Sabbath day and opened the book of Prophets and began to explain to the Jews that Jesus is the Messiah. Tradition says that the rabbi then in charge was Paul.

As for the New Testament St. Thomas brought with him the Gospel of St. Matthew, written in Syria, and this was read to the Syrian Christians in those days. Pantaenus (A.D. 190) saw a copy of the New Testament in Syriac when he visited Malabar. See *Duchen*, p. 194. Thus one can see that the contents of both the Old and New Testaments were not unknown even in those early days in Kerala. St. John Chrisostome (4th Century A.D.) says that the holy scriptures have been translated into the Indian languages. The St. Thomas tradition is not a creation of fancy. It is not a legend not founded on fact. On the other hand the co-existence of co-ordinate facts points to the definite conclusion that the Apostle did come to Malabar to make the earliest beginnings for the propagation of Christianity. (See *State Manual*, vol. 1, p. 662) says T. K. Velu Pillai again in his *State Manual*, on page 9, vol. 1 : "The Syrian Christian Community, which has been growing since the time of St. Thomas, is large in numbers, prominent in wealth, industry and trade. Sardar K. M. Panikkār says that the Syrian Christians and the Nairs had common teachers (Panickers) in warfar and "Yudhabhyasa."

9. *Conclusion* :

Kerala today represents a complex culture which is very distinct from the rest of India. It is a happy combination of what is best in the West and in the East; and the harmonious blending of both has given its special characteristics. The aboriginal tribes still continue to exist with their special features, but largely influenced by the Aryan culture. Of course, the caste system (of Brahmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śudra) as in other parts of India, also existed here, but bereft of its extreme rigour. The existence of temples and churches in very close proximity is a special feature of Kerala which has caused great surprise to foreign visitors. But the people of Kerala have found no difficulty in having a quiet and harmonious existence side by side, without offending the special features of each caste or community. The aboriginals, the Dravidians, the Aryans and the Syrians have contributed largely to the present complex culture. The influence of Romans and Greek cannot be overlooked. Peaceful co-existence is a fact accomplished in Kerala even in ancient times, serving as a model to the rest of India.

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THE KUÑÑĀLI MARAKKĀRS OF KŌTTAKKAL

PROF. A. P. IBRAHIM KUNJU

THE Kuñāli Marakkārs of Kōttakkal were the Māppiḷa admirals of the Zamorins in their classic fight against the Portuguese attempt to dominate the foreign trade of the country. "During the hundred years of war with the Portuguese this family produced a succession of four remarkable sea captains, whose prowess makes the name of 'Malabar pirates' resound still in history. In initiative, courage, navigational skill and persistence they bear comparison with the great figures of naval welfare. Undoubtedly in the manner of the period they were ruthless, cared little for the rights of others, 'but compared to their Portuguese opponents, they were humane and civilised. They were never responsible for the kind of atrocities that Gama and his successors committed.'[1]

The origin and early history of the Kuñāli[2] Marakkārs[3] are shrowded in mystery. The original seat of the Kuñāli Marakkār family seems to be at Ponnāni, a naturally strong port at the mouth of

1. K. M. Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean* (1951), p. 45.

2. In Logan's opinion, the term 'Kuñāli' is a honorific title, conferred upon his naval commanders by the Zamorin. It is probable that the name of the first distinguished captain of the sea was conferred as a title on his successors also, for it was Kuñāli Marakkār I who first organised and developed the naval wing of the Zamorin's army in order to fight with the Portuguese on equal terms. Pāttu Marakkār, who distinguished himself in the siege of Chāliyam (1571), was conferred the title 'Kuñāli', and was known as Kuñāli III. In recognition of his services, he was allowed to fortify his base of operations, Kōttakkal.

3. Accordingly to Logan the term 'Marakkār' means 'Mārggakkāran' (follower of the law) and "is applied, as a title, to persons of a foreign religion like the Christians and Muhammadans" (W. Logan, *Malabar* (1951), vol. I, p. 330). In K. V. Krishna Ayyar's opinion, the term 'Marakkār' was a title conferred by the Zamorin upon distinguished Māppiḷas, the privilege accompanying the title being the wearing of a silk turban (Zamorin's of Calicut, pp. 262-3). There seems to be no historical basis for such a conclusion. O. K. Nambiar, derives the word from 'Marakkalam', the Tamil word for ship, 'Marakkar' therefore means captain or owner of a ship. *Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen*, p. 98.

More probably, the term is the honorific plural form of the word 'Marakkān,' which is a surname found among the Mukkuvans, the Hindu fishermen caste (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. V, p. 112). In several parts of Kerala, Mukkuvans are still called 'Marakkān'. Obviously, the Ārab sailors must have come into early contact with the Mukkuvans, both on account of their occupation of the sea and their settlements along the seacoast. The word 'Marakkān' itself is probably an abbreviation of the word 'Marakkāran', one who goes to sea in a 'maram' (Catamaran).

the Ponnāni river. At the time of Portuguese advent into India, Ponnāni was carrying on a prosperous trade in spices and other articles. The establishment of Portuguese power at Cochin made the place too hot. Moreover in November, 1507, Francisco de Almeida, the Portuguese Viceroy, made a descent on Ponnāni harbour. The Portuguese effected a landing and succeeded in destroying the earthwork, but had to face a stubborn resistance from the Muslims who swore to die as martyrs and attacked the Portuguese. Lorenzo de Almeida, the son of the Viceroy, was wounded and the Portuguese withdrew to Cannanore next day.

The proximity of Ponnāni to the Portuguese stronghold of Cochin induced the Kuññālis to move their headquarters to Putuppa (tta) ṇam, on the south-bank of the Akalappula. The change might have taken place between 1507 and 1524, the first and second sacks of Ponnāni by the Portuguese, and Kuññāli Marakkār I is believed to have been responsible for the change. The only reference to Kuññāli I comes from Zainuddīn, who says : " In the same year (i. e., 1524) some of the faqihs in Kōshi (Cochin) like Ahmad Marakkār, his brother Kunj Āli Marakkār, their uncle Muhammad Āli Marakkār and other dependents felt their desire to wage war against the Portuguese. They left Kōshi for Kālikūt"[4] It is probable that the Zamorin realising the insidious intentions of the Portuguese, readily accepted the proffered help of the Marakkārs. Kuññāli Marakkār was employed to organise and develop the naval wing of his army in order to fight with the Portuguese on equal terms.

The alliance of the Zamorin with the Marakkārs made the Portuguese captains uneasy. Consequently, the Portuguese admiral Lope Vaz de Sampayo made a furious attack on Ponnāni in Dec, 1524. But Kutti Āli Marakkār attacked the Portuguese fleet off Cannanore the same year, and drove them out of the Malabar seas. The Zamorin and his admirals realised that the small Calicut vessels had no chance of victory in pitched battles, and therefore, they took to a course of sea-guerilla, which, as subsequent events proved, was eminently successful. The Portuguese vessels were heavy, and therefore difficult to manœuvre in engagements, while the light Calicut ' paroes ' could be navigated even in shallow waters. Manned by 30 or 40 rowers, these paroes were very fast, and being small they presented a difficult target to the enemy's cannon. Hundreds of them streaked out of every river-mouth and creak at the sight of a Portuguese fleet and closed with the enemy. In hand-to-hand fight Indian seamen often proved better than their Portuguese counterparts.

4. *Tuḥfat-ul-Mujāhidīn* (Tr. S. Muhammad Husain Nainar), p. 66.

Small Portuguese fleets were now immobilised by fear to encounter Malabar naval squadrons. The Portuguese were obliged to convoy their merchantmen in these waters. As a result there was great dimunition in the volume of their trade. The opportunity was utilised by Malabar merchants to send their goods to the Red Sea ports. In 1528 as soon as Menezes' squadron had sailed away from the Malabar seas, Kutti Āli Marakkār loaded eight ships of Calicut with pepper and despatched them to the Red Sea before the very eyes of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese who now found that their superiority on the sea was threatened, made a determined effort to destroy the Zamorin's naval power. Vasco da Gama, who had come to India for the third time, sent one of his ablest captains, D'Souza, against the Calicut seamen. D'Souza engaged Kutti Āli's fleet off Kāppād. After a fiercely contested battle, Kutti Āli withdrew to Pantalāyini for replenishment. D'Souza came upon the Malabar fleet the next day and drove it as far as Cannanore. In the fight off Cannanore, D'Souza was victorious and he destroyed several Malabar vessels. But the contest was continued by Chinna Kutty Āli, who harassed Portuguese shipping in the north. But soon a similar fate overtook him, when the Portuguese captain, George Tellia, compelled him to fight a pitched battle off Goa. In the meantime the Zamorian had taken the Portuguese port of Calicut after a prolonged siege (Nov. 1525).

Lopo Vaz da Sampayo, who succeeded Henry Menezes as Governor, undertook vigorous measures to put an end to the actvities of the Malabar seamen. In 1528 he proceeded against Kutti Āli with a powerful fleet. Kutti Āli gave him the slip for the time being, but in the battle which developed off Bārkūr, Sampoyo's ships overwhelmed the Malabar fleet. In March, the Portuguese scored another victory over the fleet of Chinna Kutti Āli and took him a prisoner. He was later released for a big ransom, but only after he was made to swear on the Qur'ān that he would not fight against the Portuguese.

In spite of these reverses, Kutti Āli's son, Kuññāli II carried on the struggle with greater vigour. Kuññāli carried the war into enemy's territory by attacking Portuguese possessions in Ceylon. The Calicut fleet under Kuññāli II established themselves at Kote and supported Mayadunne against his brother, who was a partisan of the Portuguese. The Malabar seamen continuously harassedP ortuguese shipping from their base at Kote for seven years. Kuññāli is reported to have captured not less than fifty ships in one year and the Portuguese were hard put to maintain their coastal lines of communication. In 1587 Kuññāli II rounded Cape Comorian and attacked the Portuguese settlement at Negapatam, but his plans were upset by the unexpected arrival

of a Portuguese squadron. In the fight that ensued, the Calicut fleet was defeated, and Kuññāli escaped overland in disguise. But early next year, Kuññāli was able to fit out another fleet, which successfully preyed upon Portuguese shipping. The Portuguese found it extremely difficult to put a stop to such activities, as it was Kuññāli's policy to to avoid decisive engagements. It was only in February, 1538 that Martim De Souza was able to compel Kuññāli to fight a pitched battle, in which the Malabār fleet was worsted.

The Zamorion had in the meantime entered into a coalition with the Sultān of Gujarāt and the Ottoman Emperor for driving out the Portuguese from the Malabār seas. Sulaiman Pāsha was sent with a powerful fleet by the Ottoman Emperor to co-operate with the Zamorin, but he returned after a demonstration.

After the return of Sulaiman Pāsha, there was a lull in the fighting. The failure of the Turkish fleet helped the Portuguese to secure for themselves a long period of peace. The Zamorin, who was left in the lurch by his allies, was compelled to negotiate for peace. He sent Kutti Āli 'Marakkār to Goa and a peace was arranged. But the high-handedness of the Portuguese compelled the Zamorin to take up the attack again. In 1540 Kuññāli sacked the Portuguese settlement on the east coast, Punnaikayal and destroyed the shipping in the port. He once again adopted the sea-guerilla and preyed upon Portuguese shipping and trade. For not less than 15 years, Kuññāli eluded the vigilance of the Portuguese, and kept the Calicut coast clear of enemy vessels. It was only in 1558 that Liuz de Mello was able to force an action off Cannanore. In a hard-fought action, the flagship of Kuññāli was sunk and three others were captured, but the rest retired unmolested since the Portuguese were unable to pursue them.

The piratical activities of Captain Mesquita caused the war between the Zamorin and the Portuguese to flare up again. The inhuman cruelties of Mesquita had estranged even the Kōlattivi, one of the staunch supporters of the Portuguese on the Malabār coast, and compelled him to declare war on the Portuguese. The Portuguese fort at Cannanore was closely invested in 1558. When the Zamorin also entered the fray the war became hot. The Zamorin sent Kuññāli II with a fleet to Bhatkal to cut-off reinforcements from Goa. Paulo de Lima, who was sent in 1564 from Goa for the relief of Cannanore, was intercepted by Kuññāli. "After the usual salutes with their respective cannon, Kuññāli, with three of his ships, boarded Dom Paulo's vessel.....Dom Paulo, who was so seriously wounded that he could not proceed to Cannanore, returned to Goa."[5]

5. F. C. Davners, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. I, p. 529.

After Lima's discomfiture, Goa sent a bigger fleet under Dom Mascarentras against Kuññāli. As the fleet sailed down the coast, Kuññāli fell upon it with only three paroes and , " succeeded in doing great damage. " Another fleet under Luiz de Mello also did not fare any better. As Caesar Frederick had observed, in consequence of these disasters, Portuguese ships were afraid to sail " but with great ships and very well armed, or else they must go in company with the army of the Portuguese. "[6] As a result of the war Portuguese trade with Calicut and Cannanore came to a standstill. The trade with Cochin also had declined on account of the hostility of Piementa (Vadakkumkūr). Thus the Portuguese were compelled to begin overtures for peace with Cannanore.

The peace with Cannanore enabled the Portuguese to turn their full fury against the Zamorin. In 1569, the Portuguese Viceroy despatched Martino Affonso Miranda with 86 ships to crush Kuññāli. Kuññāli however gave them the slip, and harassed the fleet at every turn. Exasperated, the Portuguese captain gave battle to Kuññāli at a disadvantage and was worsted. Miranda was wounded in the fight and he died reaching Cochin. The Portuguese attempt to compel Kuññāli to fight a pitched battle failed next year also. Therefore they gave up the idea for the time being, and began to plunder and destroy the coastal towns, which were believed to have been the bases of operation of the Malabar captains. The Portuguese admiral who designed and carried out the operations was Dom Diago de Menezes. With the large fleet at his disposal, he committed massacre, arson and loot at whichever place he touched. He destroyed the Muslim settlements of Pantalāyini, Tikkōdi, Kāppād, Tirūr and Ponnāni. Kuññāli retaliated by attacking Portuguese possessions in the north. He carried his depredations as far as Diu. He defeated a powerful fleet under Ruy Diaz Cabral and Henrigue de Menezes. " Falling in with fifty Malabarese ships, the two commanders rashly attacked them, with disastrous consequences, as might have been expected. Ruy Diaz and seventy men were killed, and Dom Henrigue de Menezes was carried into slavery and afterwards ransomed. "[7]

The desire of the Portuguese to wreak terrible vengeance on Kuññāli for the humiliations he heaped upon them, made them spurn the offers of peace made by the Zamorin in the meantime. The Portuguese had to repent of their action very soon. The Zamorin now entered into an agreement with Ali Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr and Murtaza Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar for concerted action to drive out the Portuguese from the west coast. Early in 1570 Ādil Shāh besieged Goa, while

6. *Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. V. p. 392.
7. Danvers ; *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 548.

Nizām Shāh invested Chaul. The Zamorin besieged the Portuguese fort at Chāliyam. In 1570 February the Zamorin sent one of his ablest captains, Kutti Pōkker, with 21 paroes to assist in the siege of Chaul. A formidable Portuguese fleet was guarding the entrance of the harbour. Kutti Pōkker sailed into the harbour under cover of night and landed men and supplies. The Malabār fleet stayed in the harbour for 20 days, and fought a bitter, though unsuccessful engagement, and after doing great damage to Portuguese shipping and houses, stole away one night "as fortunately as he had got in." Off Cannanore, the fleet of Kutti Pōkker fell in with the fleet of De Menezes. In the engagement he fell fighting bravely and is whole fleet except two ships was destroyed.

The Zamorin began the siege of Chāliyam in June, 1570. Large numbers of Muslims from the neighbourhood came to assist in the siege operations. The siege continued for four months. All attempts to relieve the fortress or send in provisions by sea were defeated by the vigilance of Pāttu Marakkār and his fleet. Zainuddin, who was a contemporary writer, wrote of the siege of the fort, "The besiegers watched all the time by the side of the fort, so that the besieged, who could not get fresh supplies, exhausted all provisions available in the fort and ate dogs and such loathsome animals. Everyday servants, men and women, who became converts to Christianity, came out of the fort, with their permission owing to the scarcity of food."[8] At last in September, 1570 the fort capitulated. The fort was demolished "leaving not one stone upon another."

Though the defeat of the Portuguese at Chāliyam failed to drive them out from the Malabār seas, it checked Portuguese plans of political aggrandisement. Thereafter they confined their attention more and more to trade. In order to secure their communications, they found it necessary to send from Goa fleet after fleet to the Malabār and Coromandel coasts.

For the great services rendered by Pāttu Marakkār (Kuññāli III) in the reduction of the Portuguese fort at Chāliyam, the Zamorin granted him permission to erect a fort and dockyards at Putuppa (tta) ṇam, at the mouth of the Akalappula, the then headquarters of the Marakkārs.[9]

8. *Tuhfat-ul-Mujāhidin*, pp. 87-8.

9. Krishna Ayyar, *op. cit.*, p. 210n. 2.

The suggestion of O. K. Nambier that Pāttu Marakkār obtained the permission of the Zamorin to build a fort at Putuppa (tta) ṇam, on account of the Zamorin giving permission to the Portuguese to build a fort at Ponnāni (1586) does not seem to be correct.

It was after the building of the fort at Puṭuppa (tta) ṇam that the place acquired the name of Kūttakkal and the river the name of Kōttappuḷa. The fort was popularly known as Marakkār Kūṭṭa (cf. Pyrard's reference to 'Marcaire.Coste' vol. I, p. 347).

By 1572 Kuññāli III had built a strong fort at Putuppa (tta) ṇam, and established himself there as a feudatory of the Zamorin. He exercised privileges and powers equal to the Nair Chieftain of the country. References to such privileges and powers exercised by Kuññāli Marakkār are contained in the 'Northern Ballads'.[10]

Though the Portuguese were driven out from the mainland, they did not give up the fight on the sea. They also began to plunder and set fire to coastal towns in Zamorin's territories regularly. Worst of all, the Portuguese intercepted the rice trade with the Canarese ports, thereby causing famine in Mɪlabar. According to Zainuddin, "(In the years 1582-83) the importation of rice was discontinued from Talner. A terriblé famine came upon them, the like of it was never seen by the people, because the Portuguese stuck to the ports mentioned above, unflinchingly without caring for food."[11]

The highhandedness of the Portuguese brought them into trouble at Cochin also. They refused to allow the Rāja to collect the usual port dues, as a result of which there was considerable agitation in Cochin. One result of the agitation was that negotiations were now reopened with the Zamorin. Ruy Gonsalves de Camera negotiated with the Zamorin for the erection of a fort at Ponnāni. The Zamorin was in no hurry and put off the proposal on one excuse or other, but at last agreed to the construction of a fort there (1586). Kuññāli, who felt that the Portuguese fort at Ponnāni would be a constant menance to him, fought a battle with the Portuguese and defeated them. In 1589 Kutti Mūsa, the nephew and admiral of Kuññāli, attacked a Portuguese fleet and caused great damage. "After a tedious fight they retired in consequence, it is presumed, of the damages they had received in the engagement; the Portuguese vessels were however, reduced to such a condition that they might easily have been taken had the attack lasted much longer, but the retirement of the enemy, leaving the Portuguese in possession of the field, entitled them to claim the victory."[12]

These two victories gave the Marakkārs complete command of the Mɪlabār seas. For over two years Portuguese navigation in the Mɪlagbār and Coromandel coasts was nearly interrupted. Kutti Mūsa with a fleet of galleys made himself absolute master all along the coast of Coromandel. He captured several Portuguese ships and contemplated making an attack on the forts of Colombo and Mɪnnar. Realising the gravity of the situation, Mathias de Albuquerque, the Viceroy, sent a powerful fleet under Andre Furtado to chastise Mūsa. "At the mouth

10. *Vide*, Ballad no. 10 in C. Achutha Menon, *Ballads of North Malabar*, vol. I.
11. *Tuhfat-ul-Mujāhidīn*, p. 98.
12. Danvers, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 84.

of the river Cardiva, Furtado met and fought with Cotimuza, and had nearly captured him, but he only saved himself by swimming, leaving his whole fleet in the hands of the Portuguese."[13]

The destruction of Mūsa's fleet only confirmed Kuññāli's determination to drive out the Portuguese from the Malabār seas. He immediately organised another fleet and harassed Portuguese shipping and trade. Speaking of Calicut, Ralph Fitch (1683-91) says : " The King hath always peace with them (*i.e.*, the Portuguese); but his people goe to the sea to robbe and seale. Their chiefe Captaine is called Cogi Alli ; he hath three castles under him.....They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by four or five parowes or boats together ; and have in every one of them fifty or three-core men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take every yere many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores."[14]

The Portuguese now realised that without coming to terms with the Zamorin, it would be difficult to crush Kuññāli's power. Fr. Franscisco da Costa, who was then a prisoner at Calicut, persuaded the Prince to make peace with the Portuguese. As a result, terms of peace were settled " to the content of both parties, and Zamorin not only released all the slaves in his kingdom, but encouraged the Jesuits to build a church, himself laying the first stone."[15]

As usual peace did not last long, because the Portuguese insisted upon taking out cartas by all Malabar ships, and taking ships without them as prizes. Kuññāli set upon and took a richly laden Portuguese ship returning from China almost in sight of Goa in 1594. To avenge this defeat, the Viceroy despatched a powerful squadron under Andre Furtado. He fell in with three ships belonging to the Zamorin and took them after a severe contest.

In 1595 Muhammad Kuññāli Marakkār (popularly known as Kuññāli IV) succeeded as the chief of Ḳōttakkal. Foreseeing that the Portuguese would seek his ruin, he fortified the town by land and sea. The following is Fariya Y Souza's description of 'Marakkār Kōtta.' " On the land side he made a deep ditch with double trenches two yards and a half thick from sea to sea. At distances he raised towers planted small cannon. Between the two creeks, he built a strong wall which secured the town with two towers, one at each end and along the sea-shore struck palisadoes, where were also two bastions, one greater than

13. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
14. *Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. V., pp. 502-3.
15. Faria Y Souza, *Portuegues Asia*, vol. III, p. 86.

the other, planted with gross cannon to secure the entrance to the harbour, which besides was difficult even to small vessels by masts strongly chained together. "[16] "From hence he began to make war upon us" complains Fariya Y Souza, "taking many of our ships richly laden. He assaulted the village of Tana in the island Salsette near Bacaim and carried away a rich booty, taking the opportunity of doing it, when those who should defend it were at the Devotions of the Holy Week."

These successes seem to have turned the head of Kuññāli and he became proud and haughty. Consequently the relations between the Zamorin and Kuññāli became strained. The cause of estrangement are variously stated. According to Fariya Y Souza, "Zamorin was now sufficiently incensed against Kuññāli, who called himself 'King of the Malabar Moors" and 'Lord of the Indian Sea'. It was not these titles, or his pride, or the compaints of the Portugueses, that provoked Zamorin, but that Cunnale had caused the tail of one of his elephants to be cut-off, as also the privy parts of a Nayre which were also fastened to his mouth."[17]

Pyrard says that Kuññāli violated the honour of a noble lady, wife of a lord, whose land lay close to Kōtta.[18] The real reason seems to be the machinations of the Portuguese. Fariya Y Souza says, "Our Viceroy conceived at the increase of is power, resolved towards the end of his government to weaken it, and by D. Alvano de Abranches, the Admiral of the sea, advertised Zamorin how the pirate was equally prejudicial to him as to the Portugueses, and therefore it would be convenient they should both joint to extirpate him. That prince being made sensible of this truth, a new peace was concluded, and they agreed, that he by land, and the Portugueses by sea, should jointly undertake the expulsion of Cunnale, and razing the fort." The proposed expedition could not immediately be carried into effect on account of a change of Viceroys.

Dom Francisco da Gama, who came out to India in 1597 now resolved to put into effect the articles of agreement entered into with the Zamorin. Great preparations were made for the expedition (1599). The Zamorin attacked from the land side, assisted by a Portuguese contingent, but it was easily repulsed. The attack of Luiz da Gama from the sea side also miscarried, and resulted in heavy losses. "So this proved the greatest disgrace the Portuguese received in Asia," wails Fariya Y Souza.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
18. *The Voyage of François Pyrard de Laval*, vol. I, p. 352.

A new agreement was made in December, 1599 between the Zamorin and the new Portuguese commander, Andre Furtado. Furtado who had learnt from the mistakes of his predecessor, proceeded with caution. He cleared the river of obstacles, and erected shore batteries to attack the fort effectively. The attack was pressed with vigour and Kuñṅāli finding his position untenable, opened negotiations with the Zamorin. He promised to surrender to the Zamorin on condition that his men be spared. The Zamorin wavered in his decision, but Furtado, who was bent upon destroying Kuñṅāli's power, pressed forward the attack. Finding his position hopeless, Kuñṅāli surrendered on condition " but his life. " He surrendered his sword to the Zamorin, who jielded him up to the Portuguese. Kuñṅāli and his nephew, Chinna Āli and 40 Māppiḷas of note were sent as prisoners aboard the ship and carried to Goa. As soon as some of the prisoners were set ashore at Goa, they were torn to pieces by the populace. Kuñṅāli and his nephew were publicly executed, without any regard for the promise of life granted to them. " So did that government and rabble go hand in hand in murder and breach of faith, " is the final comment of Fariya Y Souza.

The act of the Zamorin in yielding up Kuñṅāli and his followers to the Portuguese is indefensible. There is no explanation why the Zamorin betrayed his trust. It is significant that no provision as to the disposal of the person of Kuñṅāli on surrender is included in the treaty entered into between the Zamorin and Furtado in December, 1599. Surely some understanding in the matter must have been made between the parties. The whole transaction smacks of treachery on the part of the Zamorin.

Thus ended the power of the Kuñṅāli Marakkārs. The fall of Kōtta and the death of Kuñṅāli did not avail the Portuguese anything. The Māppiḷa seamen began to harass Portuguese shipping and trade with a vengeance. So great was their fear of the depredations of the Malabār seamen that they ventured forth only in large ' cafilas '. In the words of Pyrard de Laval, " At Goa, the whole city looks out for these cafilas as in Spain they await those of the Indies. And when they arrive not at their due season, everyone is in apprehension of the Hollanders or the Malabaris, or the Cambayanes themselves who frequently stop them when they endeavour to put in at Goa, as happened the year I left Goa. "[19]

He continues : " When this fleet the Cafila does arrive the joy of the merchants and the whole people is marvellous ; and in truth it is a very pretty and pleasant sight to see so many sails together ; but it is seldom that the Malabar corsairs fail to capture some of them. "

19. *Ibid.*

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William Finch writing in 1608-10 wrote of the activities of the Malabār seamen : " This moneth here was also news of an Ormus ship taken by the Malabars and three frigats from Cochin, whereof sizteene were taken and burnt by the Malabars, which the rest escaped, if miserable spoile be an escape ; also of fiftie frigats and galiots of the Malabars spoiling on their coast. In January came another news of thirtie frigats, which put for Diu richly laden, taken by the Malabars, being at this time masters of the seas. "[20]

The fame of the Kuñṉāli still resounds in Malabār. The great sacrifices they had made in defence of the rights of their countrymen for over a century against the encroachments of the Portuguese, form a glorious chapter in the annals of our country. It is to the valour and energy of these seamen that Portuguese hold on our land is no more than the trifling and precarious hold that it is.

20. W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 120.

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A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF KERALA

DR. T. I. POONEN

(A study based on Western source documents preserved in the Madras Record Office)

WITH the formation of the Kerala State comprising the entire Malayalam speaking area, the transformation of the erstwhile Travancore University into the Kerala University and the institution of the Kerala Sahitya Academy with a historical wing attached thereto, the opportune moment seems to have been reached for making a serious effort at the reconstruction of the history of Kerala based on a critical study of all available sources. Though the smallest of Indian States in area and population, Kerala has nevertheless a history which is particularly fascinating by reason both of the wide range it covers and the diversity of people with which it is concerned. The history of Kerala dates back to the pre-historic past. The Aborigines, Dravidians, Aryans, Jews, Syrians, Arabs, peoples of alleged Ceylonese origin, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the English and Mysorean Muslims have all been actors in the drama of the history of this picturesque region. Consequently, a wide variety of sources has to be tapped for evolving a comprehensive history of Kerala through the centuries. The more recent arrivals have fortunately for the historian bequeathed to posterity documents of unique historical value which are within fairly easy reach and give detailed information of important aspects of Kerala history and polity. This is especially true of European nations who have played a part in this history, namely the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. Of these, the Dutch and the English have left behind a large mass of historical material which is carefully preserved in the Madras Record Office and provides a rich quarry for the historian.

(i) *Dutch Sources* :

The Dutch records now in the custody of the Madras Record Office were produced during the years 1677 to 1795. A useful introduction to these records is furnished by Galletti in his " The Dutch in Malabar " (Madras Government Press, 1911). When Cochin, the headquarters of the Dutch Administration in Malabar, was taken by the English in 1795, the Dutch records available at that Capital town came into the

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possession of the victorious nation. After being retained for many years at Cochin, they were transferred to Calicut, and finally removed to Madras in 1891. They consist of 1400 large volumes bound in leather or paper and packets of loose paper. Of the 1648 items of records mentioned in a previously prepared topical Dutch list, 248 had disappeared by the time of the English capture of Cochin. After the records were transferred to Madras, the Madras Government got a Dutchman long resident in Madras to prepare in English an elaborate press list of these documents. This press list is of immense value as, without a considerable knowledge of the rather difficult Dutch script of the 17th and 18th centuries, it is not possible for ordinary research workers with a tolerable working knowledge of Dutch to decipher the original Dutch documents, the calligraphy of which baffles the comprehension of even the most painstaking student of antique writings and there seems to be very little chance that these documents in their entirety will ever be properly examined by qualified people with adequate financial backing. Time has injured many of those documents and even those which were in good preservation half a century ago must since then have necessarily undergone further deterioration. All the available historical memoirs left by the Dutch Commandeurs of Malabar to their successors—the title 'Commandeur' which indicated an office of lesser dignity than that of Governor was given to the Chief Controlling Officer in Malabar—have been printed in Dutch by the Madras Government. They have also made two of these memoirs available to a wider circle of readers by getting them translated into English and ably edited with exhaustive explanatory foot-notes; with this exception, no Government, University or learned body has evinced appreciable interest in the study and interpretation of these documents. Credit is therefore due to the former British rulers for the valuable contribution thus made by their Government in Madras towards the furtherance of historical investigation. In the Madras collection of Dutch Records we have, as Galletti observes, the contents of a Dutch Chief Factory in much the same condition as they were at the end of the Eighteenth century when the administration was still being carried on. The Cochin records thus contain an unexplored wealth of material for the history of Kerala in the 17th and 18th centuries. Besides describing the affairs of the Dutch East India Company in Malabar during the period covered, these documents also impart very valuable information on the general history of the region during two centuries so that their usefulness to the historian is very great and they deserve to be fully utilised.

The earliest Dutch Record in the Madras collection is the Memoir of Hendrik Van Rheede, Commandeur of Malabar, composed in 1677 for the use of his successor. This gives an account of the political geography of Kerala at that time as also of the aims and achievements of the Dutch

in Malabar during the foundation period of their power in this region (1663-78). The narrative also gives a detailed account of the various peoples inhabiting the area. By the time this Memoir was written (17th March 1677) the Dutch had replaced the Portuguese as the sole European power enjoying commercial supremacy on the West Coast and exercising full and undiluted overlordship over the rulers of Cochin. All the Chieftains of Malabar had either voluntarily or as a result of military pressure entered into treaties which stipulated the entire exclusion of rival European nations from their lands and the grant of unduly favourable terms for themselves. The ruler of Cochin had virtually become an abject feudatory of theirs and in them were now vested complete political overlordship over the restored royal line of Cochin.

Political Divisions of Kerala in 1677

At the time when Van Rheede wrote, Kerala was practically divided among four great and suzerain princes or kings who ruled paramount over others. From south to north, these were the rulers of Travancore and Cochin, the Zamorin of Calicut and the Kolattiri of Cannanore. There was in addition another kingdom with a considerable area and a large population called Tekkenkur, which was an independent principality not included in nor subject to any of the four main kingdoms each of which had several feudatories. Some of these figure prominently in Dutch Records.

At this time Travancore was a very small principality embracing only the southern extremity of what was known as Travancore at the end of the Eighteenth century, a strip of land about 700 square miles (35 × 20) or one-tenth of Travancore in the days of British rule. Cochin was in those days a more important kingdom with subordinate princes ruling over Purakkad (Chembakasseri), Moutan, Vatakkumkur, Coereornadu or Anjikaimal, Parur, Mangatty (Alangad) Bypeen, Cranganore and Airur. The Zamorin was the third king of Malabar and had no smaller authority than the other kings. The kingdom extended from the province of Oenetterie on the border of Cranganore in the south and ended at the river Kottakal. Under him were seven subordinate rulers. Kolattiri, the fourth king of Malabar with four feudatories under him, ruled over the extensive territory lying between Kottakal and Nilisaram on the border of Kanara.

Quite a different picture is to be found in the Memoir of Johan Gerard Van Angelbeek who quitted office in 1793. This is the last Dutch Memoir on Malabar as the story of Dutch activities in this part of the world came to a close with the surrender of all Dutch settlements in Malabar to the English in 1795 by Lambertus Van Spall, the last Commandeur to hold office in Malabar. This last Memoir shows that

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the two northern kingdoms of the Kolattiri and the Zamorin had disappeared. They had been merged in the territories of the English East India Company. The Cannanore and Calicut kingdoms which had been annexed by Hyder Ali during his invasion of the West Coast—this invasion is described in Dutch Records—had to be surrendered to the English by Hyder's son, Tippu Sultan, in 1792. The only kingdom now left in Malabar were Cochin and Travancore.

The Cochin kingdom now comprised a much smaller area than in the days of Van Rheede. It has been considerably diminished by the conquests of Martanda Varma of Travancore in the south and of the Zamorin in the north. Some territory had been taken by Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. Parur and Alangad had been ceded to Travancore in consideration of help rendered by that kingdom to Cochin when the latter kingdom was further threatened by the Zamorin. The Cochin kingdom in 1798 comprised only the following territories.

(1) The kingdom of Cochin proper, consisting of the piece of land bounded on the north by the river of Cochin, on the east by the lake or backwaters, on the south by the offshoot of Manikordes and on the west by the backwaters and sea. The kingdom thus appeared to have the form of an island, and on this the Dutch possessed the town of Cochin with jurisdiction over it and the king of Travancore possessed a piece of Manikordu on its southernmost edge.

(2) The island of Bypeen down from Palliport on which the Palliyatteer owned several villages under the sovereignty of the king. The Dutch Company had independent possession of the southernmost projection and the other side of this fort.

(3) On the mainland, the land of Anjikaimal and the district of Tripunithura where the king had a sort of palace and resided most of the time.

(4) The islands of Kastella, Bendoorthy, Bolgatty and Balaparte with some smaller ones of less importance. Dutch protection was confined to the above mentioned lands.

In addition to the above, the king possessed extensive lands north of the Travancore Lines which he had rented in 1790 for all time from the English company and over which the said Company itself possessed sovereignty. These were lands conquered from Malabar princes by Tippu Sultan who was dispossessed of them by the English. Thus the king of Cochin was serving two masters. The northern portion of his kingdom was under the English and the southern under the Dutch. The way was thus being prepared for the total eclipse of the Dutch in Malabar in 1795—a contingency which the writer of the Memoir of 1798 does not seem to have anticipated.

The other kingdom, Travancore, was at the end of the Eighteenth century far more important than Cochin. It had expanded considerably in size. The Dutch by the treaty of Mavelikara (1753) concluded with Martanda Varma of Travancore renounced all alliances with the other Chiefs and nobles of Malabar with whom the Travancore ruler desired to wage war. The Dutch promised not to thwart the latter in any respect, give asylum to any such person, or oppose His Highness's enterprise. The result was that the kings and old allies were abandoned by the Dutch Company and left exposed to the fully fury of the onslaughts of Travancore, whose ruler succeeded in conquering all kingdoms south of Cochin and a part of the Cochin kingdom. Out of respect to the Dutch Company, a little land was left to the king of Cochin. Partly by guile and in an unlawful manner and partly by force of arms, Martanda Varma of Travancore came into possession of the kingdoms of Elladaswarupam, Peritallay, Marta, Quilon, Kayamkulam, Purakkad, Tekkumkur, Vadakkumkur and a part of Cochin. Thus Martanda Varma became master of the whole of Southern Kerala and a part of Northern Kerala.

The Dutch records of Malabar give a complete account of the train of events which resulted in the altered political geography of Kerala at the close of the Eighteenth Century.

The years 1679-1728 marked the heyday of Dutch power in Malabar. During these years the Dutch steadily developed their power over the chieftains of Malabar and strengthened their commercial position. Contemporary Dutch documents clearly prove that during this period the Dutch company had established its power and overlordship not only over the principal kings of North Malabar, but also over the minor chieftains or great landlords of that region. But the sky was not altogether free from clouds. In spite of treaties excluding other European nations from trade in her dominions, the Rani of Attingal allowed the English to establish a factory and later build a fort at Anjengo. The English Agent at Calicut often instigated the Zamorin to act against the Dutch and lent him support in his aggression. The Zamorin who was the most powerful and aggressive of Malabar princes had expected that the Dutch would make him king of Cochin as a reward for his having entered into an alliance with the Dutch against the Portuguese. The Dutch were not disposed to oblige him in his matter. Continual acts of hostility from the Zamorin followed as a result of the Zamorin's disappointment. As a matter of fact, war between the different princes was chronic in Malabar. The route by which the Zamorin could invade Cochin lay along the shore by Chetway and Cranganore. The Payancherry Nair, the owner of Chetway, and the prince of Cranganore were tributaries of the Zamorin. After forcing the Zamorin in 1710 to sign a treaty ceding to them the suzerainty over the Payancherry Nair and the

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Cranganore Chief, the Dutch proceeded to build or extend a fort at Chetway. The Zamorin surprised the fort in January 1715, thereby lowering the prestige of the Dutch and increasing the number of their enemies. However, initial rebuffs notwithstanding, the Dutch by the campaign of 1716, regained their prestige and there were no further troubles during this period.

The years 1729-58 witnessed the discomfiture of the Dutch and the emergence of Martanda Varma of Travancore as a powerful ruler who dealt a decisive blow to Dutch pretensions. He gained a signal victory over the Dutch at Colachel (1741). The treaty of Mavelikara referred to above which was a triumph for Martanda Varma and a humiliation to the Dutch facilitated the expansion of Travancore and made it impossible for the Dutch any longer "to play Emperor in Malabar" and to prevent the absorption of the smaller kingdoms in Travancore.

In August 1729 the English merchants at Tellicherry recorded their belief that the Zamorin and other princes were not well inclined towards the Dutch and they would endeavour to disturb them if they could. "Encroaching measures not being agreeable to mankind," the Tellicherry factors observed, "it is natural to think they will not be submissive to them if it be in their power to hinder it." The possibility of a war against the Dutch by the Zamorin was indicated by the English merchants of Tellicherry in their letter to the Directors in England dated 23rd September." "It is our opinion," they wrote, "that he (the new Zamorin) in conjunction with the King of Cochin and other petty princes in general to the southward of us intend to levy war on the Dutch in a short space of time." This was probably the result of a threat which the Zamorin had given to the Cochin ruler. This is a reasonable surmise from the report of the Dutch Resident at Kayamkulam that the Zamorin had sent calls to the King of Kayamkulam asking the latter to meet him with the Raja of Tekkumkur in order jointly to attack the King of Cochin as well as to facilitate the merger of Vadakkumkur in Tekkumkur. It was the policy of the Dutch to prevent the amalgamation of the small kingdoms lest they prove too strong for the Dutch. It is clear that from 1729 Dutch influence in Malabar was distinctly on the wane. Detailed accounts of the expansion of Travancore and the steady decline of the Dutch are furnished in the Memoirs of Stein Van Gollenesse (1748), Fredrik Cunes (1756) and Adriean Moens (1781). The last document also refers to the invasion of Hyder Ali into the Malayalam country. The Dutch documents also give some indication of unsuccessful efforts made by the Dutch to introduce Protestant beliefs and practices among the Syrian Christians. It is also seen that the Dutch continued the Portuguese policy of extending potection to the Latin Christians against the unjust demands of the King of Cochin and other rulers. Rival sections of Hindus also asked for Dutch intervention in their mutual

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disputes. Thus there is an amusing reference to Dutch protests against the Nambudiris praying in the Chembukkavu temple against ancient usage.

(*ii*) *English Documents* :

Unlike the Dutch at Cochin who do not seem to have kept the Town diary regularly and the few extant volumes of whose Diaries convey no useful information, the English at Tellicherry and Anjengo kept very informative diaries which can serve as useful raw material for the history of Kerala. The Tellicherry Diaries from 1725 to 1751 have been printed in twenty volumes. There are also several volumes of later years available for consultation in well bound volumes of manuscripts preserved in the Madras Record Office. In addition, there exist in print twelve volumes of letters to Tellicherry (1726-1750) and six volumes of letters from Tellicherry (1729-1751). Of the Anjengo Diaries dating from 1744, only three volumes are available in print. The rest have to be looked up from the bound manuscript volumes in Madras. "Diary of Mr. Strutter's Commission, 1714-1715" and reports of Military Officers operating against the Nawab of Carnatic in the interests of the ruler of Travancore who had sought British protection are also important source materials. The Anjengo Diaries help us to reconstruct the economic history of the enlarged Travancore State of the mid-eighteenth century, while the Tellicherry records tell us much about the political and economic conditions of North Malabar and the rivalry between the English of Tellicherry and the French in Mahe.

The importance of the Anjengo Diaries should not be underrated on the ground that they deal with nothing but the pepper and cloth trade of the English in that locality. For the second half of the reign of Martanda Varma we have a wealth of information in the Anjengo Diaries which are continued even after the close of that reign. The customs duties paid by the Syrian Christian merchants of Chattanur and Parur engaged in the pepper trade and the Chetty merchants of Kottar doing business in the cloth trade formed an important source of income to the State. Large sums were advanced by the English Company to these merchants for purchasing stock. Often the intervention of the King had to be sought to compel the pepper and cloth merchants to fulfil their engagements. Despite promises to supply goods exclusively to the English Company, there were attempts to break these agreements. The King often made the supply of arms at low price by the English a condition of his permitting them to carry on trade in his dominions. Sometimes the failure of the merchants to supply the promised goods was found to be due not to any fault of theirs, but to the King's insistence on the merchants supplying him with pepper at very low price before the supply at the market rate was made to the English. The King

wanted to do some trade of his own and he made unsuccessful efforts to get the English transport his merchandise to Europe in their ships. The arrival of merchants from the East coast trying to outbid the English company was a frequent cause of vexation. The Rupee—Fanam exchange problem had to be carefully handled. When East Coast Merchants arrived with large stocks of rupees, the exchange value of the rupee in terms of Fanams which were the media of exchange for cloth and pepper purchases went down, and the Anjengo Merchants were seriously inconvenienced. The records show that persistent efforts were made to keep up the value of the rupee pretty high. There are evidences in the records that it was the supply of firearms by the English that helped Martanda Varma to fight the other Kings and annex their territories. It was the superior military position of Martanda Varma that compelled the Dutch to give up their old policy of guaranteeing the continued existence of the small kingdoms and preventing their absorption in bigger ones. Interesting references occur in these records to the conflict between the English and the French. We have indications of the French threat to the Coast of Travancore and of the steps taken to ensure its defence. The ravages of the Maharattas in different parts of India are alluded to. We hear of disputes between the Travancore ruler and the Nawab of the Carnatic who considered the former only as a polygar of his. It appears that Travancore owed a double loyalty to the English Company and the Nawab. English Generals had to undertake military operations to defend Travancore againt attacks by the Nawab. The Anjengo Diaries reveal that it was Martanda Varma who constructed the canal connecting Quilon and Trivandrum and thus opened the way for increased facilities of communications between Trivandrum and places to the north.

Enough has been said above to show that useful material for the study of an important period in the history of Kerala is to be found in the Tellicherry and Anjengo Diaries of the English Merchants on the south-west coast of India. While the study of Dutch records presents formidable difficulties because most students are not conversant with the intricacies of Dutch script, no such difficulty exists in the case of the English Records and it is a matter for surprise and regret that serious attention has not hitherto been given to the study of these English Records by Indian Students of History. Whether better and more effective use could not be made of these Dutch and English Records dealing with Kerala if they were placed in easier reach of investigators in Kerala by being transferred to the Kerala State rather than being locked up in the Archives of the purely Tamil State of Madras, is a matter well worth the consideration of organisations interested in historical research. It will be only in the fitness of things if the Indian History Congress supports such a move.

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REVOLT OF THE DIWAN OF TRAVANCORE 1809

SHRI KRISHAN LAL

TRAVANCORE entered into political and commercial relations with the East India Company in 1678 ; and supported the British in the wars against Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. Two treaties had been concluded with the Rajah, one in 1795, which guaranteed his territories, and merely bound him to furnish what troops he was able to send, and another in 1805, which bound him to pay a certain amount for a subsidiary[1] force.

Question of arrears :

In the month of September, 1808, a balance of rupees 626,669 remained undischarged[2], and when the payment was demanded, the Rajah protested that the treaty of 1805 was forced upon him and the payment for four battalions with which it saddled him, was a far heavier burden than his revenues could bear. In fact the working of this system (Subsidiary Alliance) was eating into the vitals of the state. The Raja and the Diwan desired that the burden might be reduced. It was also believed that the difficulty in the realisation of the subsidy arose from the company's refusal to receive payment in pepper. The Resident on the other hand insisted that difficulty in paying subsidy was owing to the expenditure lavished on a body of useless troops, maintained by the Rajah under the name of the Carnatic brigade. The real question in dispute thus was whether the subsidiary force or the brigade should be reduced, the Rajah advocating the former and the Resident the latter. Here the British rule impinged on the Raja, as the brigade in question was as indispensable to his personal safety as its removal was to the security of the Resident. The Raja made representations to the Government of Bengal and Madras against the menaces of the Resident, but to no effect.[4]

1. Henry Beveridge, *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 885.
2. *Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings*, Letter no. 24 of 2nd January, 1809. (National Archives of India).
3. S. B. Choudhuri, *Civil disturbances in India during the British Rule*, p. 184.
4. James Mill, *History of British India*, vol. VII, p. 175.

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Dewan Valoo Tambe:

He had been appointed a Diwan in 1801. It was maintained that the Rajah had suffered a whole part of the state to fall into the hands of the diwan who entertained views of direct hostility[5] towards the British. Velu Tempi, the minister, indeed was the great leader of the country who shaped the policies of the state during the critical times. There was a personal feud between him and the Resident whom he hated as the 'scourage' of his country, and his own 'inexorable foe'. The Resident likewise looked upon him as the chief instigator of the refractory spirit of the king, and consequently demanded his removal.

Efforts of the Diwan to liberate Travancore:

It is quite evident that the Diwan wanted to overthrow the British influence in the sate of Travancore and planned its reassertion of liberty. For this purpose, he organized the internal forces and invited foreign help. He took the following measures for the fulfilment of this object.

1. *Refusal to pay subsidy*:

He had encouraged the Raja to inform the British Resident that he could not pay the subsidy. The Resident blamed[6] him for allowing the subsidy to fall into arrears and insisted on his removal.

2. *Alliance with the neighbouring rajah*:

He also entered into communication with the neighbouring rajahs, and gained their support for the defence of the religion. He also issued a 'Violent Proclamation' and possibly circular letters to the neighbouring Rajahs to defend caste and Hindu religion against British[7] encroachments. Resident Macaulay wrote to George Buchan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, "I have received two letters from the Acting Commercial Resident at Anjingo respecting three persons stated to be Armenians, and some other who landed there from an Arab vessel."

The Armenians received the permission of the Commercial Resident to travel by land to Fort St. George, and as Trivandipooram, the ordinary residence of the Rajah of Travancore, lays on the route from Anjingo to Tinnevelly, they necessarily passed through that place, it so happening that the Dewan of Travancore and the Minister of the Rajah of Cochin were both there at the time.

5. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, vol. XIV (Commons), paper 735-vi.
6. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 885.
7. Mill, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

That a communication between the Diwan and the Armenians took place is certain, but what nature has not been ascertained; all that has transpired on the subject is that soon after the communication took place, the Minister of the Rajah of Cochin accompanied by an officer of rank in the Civil department of the Rajah of Travancore's Government, a person who has long enjoyed the confidence of the Dewan quitted Trivandipooram and proceeded to the residence of the Rajah of Cochin, and which they reached on the 15th (December) ultimo where the offensive proceedings relative to Travancore sepoys took place."[8]

3. *Organisation of the Internal forces* :

He ordered the arming of natives with all kinds of arms. Lieut.-Colonel Macaulay further wrote, " The Dewan of Travancore however on his side has not scrupled in this respect to go very daring lengths, he has ordered a portion of the population of every district within Travancore to train to the use of bow and arrows, the Nayers who are clothed and armed with firelocks have been ordered to drill constantly and to fire ball cartridges, immense quantities of bows and arrows have been bought by the Dewan's orders to Quilon and are deposited within a short distance of the cantonments of the Subsidiary force."[9]

4. *Appointment of the Commander in chief* :

Not only the people were supplied arms, but even a Commander-in-Chief of the forces was appointed. The Resident Macaulay wrote on the 5th December, 1808, " The Dewan has thrown off the mask completely, and has most probably determined to set the whole country on a flame rather than yield. He recently revived an appointment that had long been dormant, and has placed in it a younger brother of his own ; an active bold youth the appointment is styled Generalissimo of the forces , and it confers and concentrates the whole Military authority. Colonel Daly also must receive orders from him."[10]

5. *French Aid* :

It appears that he sought the help of the French to expel the British from Travancore. " The Dewan's agent stated by his orders to the Rajah of Cochin that the Dewan had received some information that a considerable French force might be expected to arrive on the coast of Malabar in the course of next January (1809) and therefore that the Rajah of Cochin must unite himself to the Travancoreans and the French for the purpose of expelling the English from the country."[11] Again

8. *Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings*, Letter no. 5, and January 1809.
9. *Ibid.*, para 6.
10. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 5a, 2nd January 1809.
11. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 49, 22nd December 1808, para 4.

the Resident wrote,[12] " It is now whispered that the Dewan has actually sent to Mauritius two persons (Mahomedans) on a Malderih vessel to solicit a reinforcement of 500 artillery which he alleges would be sufficient to place him in a situation to resist with effect all the forces that could be brought to bear on him by the English." On the 11th September,[13] 1808, he had reported, " I wrote you a public letter on the subject of the French serving on the board an Arab vessel—I have frequently seen when at Alippe half a dozen belonging to one ship." Thus the French phobea appeared to be in full swing in the Southern India to the British. How far it was a reality, it is difficult to state, but the French forces under Napolean were fighting a severe war against the English at that time. Either the Dewan believed in the actual arrival of the French forces or wanted to coerce the British Government. Mr. Macaulay wrote, " It will perhaps be deemed of no moment to enquire whether this extraordinary conduct of the Diwan is to be ascribed to a belief actually reposed by him in the truth of the intelligence respecting the speedy arrival of a French force or whether that intelligence be used by him as a cover for exciting the people to train with such publicity to arms with the scheme of thereby administering the British Government into a passive acquiescence in his bold contimacy and daring resistance.[14]

Order to arrest the Diwan :

Sir George Barlow ordered the Resident to arrest the Diwan. G. Buchan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort Saint George, wrote to Lieut.-Colonel Macaulay to arrest the Diwan and conveyed the following instructions, " The Governor-in-Council observes with concern the course of proceedings which has been adopted by the Dewan of Travancore but in actual state of affairs it appears in every view of essential importance that no time should be lost in adopting the most effectual means of frustrating any dangerous intention that he may have entertained.

The Governor-in-Council is of opinion that this object will be best accoumplished by securing person of the Dewan as well as any other who may be considered most active in the support of his improper schemes and by continuing them under restraint until the administration of affairs in Travancore shall be established on a sound and satisfactory footing."[15]

12. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 88, 16th December 1808.
13. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 24, 2nd January 1809.
14. *Ibid.*, 2nd January 1809, letter no. 49, para 7.
15. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 51, 15th December 1808.

Madras forces were set in motion for Travancore. At this posture of events, the diwan simulated submission and arrangements were made for his removal from Aleppi to Calicut on the night of 28th December 1808, but on the very night, he actually broke into rebellion by an attack on the house of the Resident. Perhaps he had got the news of the secret order for his arrest.

Attack on the Residency :

The Resident sent the following details of the attack. He wrote,[16] " The Honourable the Governor-in-Council will learn with concern the deradful act of treachery with which the Dewan of Travancore has crowned his long course of perfidy I doubt whether anything more base and atrocious has ever occurred, for some days past I had been engaged in negotiations with the Dewan at his own earnest solicitation, and had concluded everything to his entire satisfaction, and was waiting only his arrival from Aleppe to carry into execution the measure upon which he had resolved of removing to Calicut and had at his request had weakened the party with me to provide for his security, and had at his suggestions placed my boats and Palanquins in convenient places to take him on which comfort and expedition, when a little after midnight a party of Nayers to the number of about one thousand headed by the Dewan's confidential friend Palpanah Pillay, and by the minister of the Rajah of Cochin, surrounded my house to prevent all escape, and commenced a smart fire musketry at every opening, first disarming the guards and killing a few, who attempted resistance, and then broke into the place to destroy me—their design was providentially and somewhat miraculously defeated and after having broken open every place and package and pillaged the house of the whole effects, they withdrew at the break of the day." In the morning Colonel Macaulay escaped on board a vessel, which proved to be a transport with part of the expected reinforcements.

Deamands of the British Government:

Three demands were made on the Rajah of Travancore.

First : " That the persons principally concerned in the atrocious attacks on the sacred person of the British representative should be delivered into our hands, if they should not have been already punished.

Secondly : That the Diwan should be dismissed from his office and banished from the country.

16. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 80, 28rd January 1809.

Thirdly : That the validity of the Subsidiary force should be distinctly acknowledged by the payment in full of the arrears of the Subsidiary. Other points necessary to maintain the just influence of the British Government and to secure its agents from insult or danger may occur in the course of discussion." [17]

The War:

After the attack on the Residency, Colonel Chalmers commanding the subsidiary force, which had its station at Quilon, immediately commenced operations, but the natives became so powerful that the Colonel was obliged to return to Quilon. Here he was joined early in January, 1809 by Picton from Malabar. The disparity of force was still very great, for the dewan was advancing at the head of nearly 30,000 men, with eighteen guns. The British lines were defended by Col. Picton and Major Hamilton supported by an European regiment and three battalions of sepoys. It was a stiff engagement lasting for five hours, the diwan's forces even attempted to storm the camp, but the battle formation of the British troops set at naught all attempts to overwhelm them. Seven hundred of the native troops were slain in addition to the loss of fifteen pieces of artillery.[18]

Attack on Cochin :

After this repulse Vailoo Tambi, despairing of success at Quilon, hastened off to Cochin, which was held by Major Hewitt with only two companies of the 12th regiment, and six companies of native infantry. The rebels advanced to the attack in three masses each 1000 strong and were again repulsed.

During this time (January, 1809), a small party of British soliders on board a vessel at Alleppy were induced to land, and then murdered.[19]

Defeat of the Diwan :

The Government of the Fort St. George now mobilised their full strength. Coloned Cuppage, commanding in Malabar, entered the province of Cochin, from north with His Majesty's 80th regiment, and two native battalions ; Colonel St. Leger was marching from Trichinopoly with His Majesty's 69 regiment, a regiment of native cavalry, three native battalions, and a detachment of royal artillery, and was moreover to be joined by a Kaffre regiment expected from Ceylon.

17. *Ibid.*, Letter, no. 43, 23rd January 1809
18. S. B. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136,
19. Mill, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 177-9.

Colonel St. Leger directed his march through the province of Tinnevelly, across the mountains range by which the Western Ghauts are continued to Cape Comorin. For this purpose it was necessary to diverge far to the South as in that direction the most practicable passes are situated. The one which he selected was the pass of Arambuli or Aramuni, which leads westward across the mountains by the highroad from Palamkota. The pass was defended by formidable lines, but was accomplished by a surprise, and the British troops began on the 17th of February to advance in the direction of Trivandrum, the Travancore Capital, Colonel Chalmers was also advancing upon it from the opposite direction, while Colonel Cuppage, who had crossed the northern frontier, was continuing his march southward without opposition. The Raja and the Diwan gave up all hopes of resistance ; the former threw himself on the British protection unconditionally. The Raja accepted all terms of the payment of the subsidy. He surrendered himself to the subsidiary force for protection, accepted a new diwan agreeable to the British interest, and disbanded the Nair battalions and the Carnatic brigade.

Death of the Diwan :

The Dewan had in the meanwhile fled. The Raja despatched various parties in search of the Dewan, who was at last forced to take refuge in the temple of Bhagwadi. Though venerated as a sanctuary, his pursuers did not hesitate to force it. The Dewan was found expiring of wounds, apparently self-inflicted ; his brother who was with him, was taken to Quilon and hanged. Yet the dead body of the Diwan was taken to Trivandrum, where it was exposed upon a gibbet. The gibbetting of the body of the Diwan was shocking in the extreme. This proceeding was strongly censured by the Governor-General Lord Minto, who held that the Resident had made himself responsible by neither preventing the exposure nor proclaiming his disapprobation. The ends of justice were served when the Dewan ceased to exist, and the attempt to carry punishment further was, his lordship remarked, repugnant to humanity and to principles of a civilized[20] government.

Thus ended the heroic attempt of the Dewan Vailoo Tambe to throw off the foreign yoke. His failure should be attributed to the better organization of the English army and the lack of the French support at the critical time.

20. Beveridge, *op. cit*, p. 887.

MALABAR COINAGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

PROFESSOR P. K. K. MENON

THE eighteenth century has, of course, been a formative period in the modern history of Malabar. It had for long remained a land of petty powers for, the process of political integration under the Zamorins had been arrested by the littoral activities of the Portuguese who were prone to uphold those powers for their own commercial advantages. But the sudden Mysorean invasions and occupation of Malabar brought about revolutionary changes in the political and administrative system of the country. The Mysoreans were pioneers. They uprooted the feudal traditions of the past and brought disgrace to the royalty and aristocracy of the land. Theirs was the first attempt to establish a regular land revenue system based upon survey and assessment. They improved the means of transport, developed the trade, introduced a new variety of coinage and overhauled the administrative system. They settled great foundations upon which the English, after the Treaty of Seringapatam, 1792, built up their own superstructure.

An attempt is made, in the following pages, to study briefly the system of coinage in Malabar during the Mysorean regime and the modifications effected by the early British administrators in the eighteenth century. The information is based upon the the records of the English East India Company preserved at the Madras Record Office. The English officers in Malabar had made systematic efforts to collect, as much as possible, information about coinage in the earlier period.

It would appear that there was no uniform coinage in the land before the advent of Hyder Ali. In south Malabar small gold coins called ' Fanams ' were in circulation. Probably there were many types of them bearing separate names and different stamps, for example, ' Katemany ' fanams, ' Kanna puthan ' fanams, ' Kotaputhan ' fanams, ' Raja puthan ' fanams, etc. They are rare at present and it is said that they were all, more or less, of the same value. The ' Bely ' or silver fanams were popular only in the region between Calicut and Baliapatam or Kavayi in the north. Such coins were being issued by the Raja of Kottayam, the Arakal family of Cannanore and some times by the East India Company at its Tellicherry settlement. They

could be exchanged in South Malabar, if at all, only at a loss. Besides there appear to have been in existence in Malabar also small silver coins called Taroms.[1]

From 1774 onwards we notice two kinds of gold fanams, the cannanore and the Vir Rayen. Four of the former type made a rupee in the transactions of the shroffs and 8⅞s of them in those of the Government. Similarly the Vir Rayen Fanams could be exchanged with the Shroffs at the rate of 3¾ for the rupee and with the Government at the rate of 3⅝ for the rupee.[2] Both the types were made use of in the payment of land revenue.

In 955 M.E. (1779-80) Hyder stamped the letter (H) on one side of the Vir Rayen fanam and it came to be called Hyderee or Bahadur fanam. Perhaps its value was a little higher than that of the Vir Rayen. Hyder also struck the Hyderee Hoon or Pagoda valued at four rupees. 14½ Hyderee fanams could be exchanged for a pagoda in the receipt of the Government and 15 in that of the shroffs.[3] He also minted the silver Taroms and copper pice, each bearing the figure of an elephant on one side. The value of Hyder's coins often varied in exchange. He continued to retain the figures of a man and a woman, the old mark of Canara (or the so-called Ikeri) pagodas, on the coins minted by him.[4]

Tippoo had no less than twelve mints in all including the two situated in Malabar at Calicut and Ferokabad.[5] The latter took the place of the mint at Calicut after its destruction. Tippoo issued from Calicut gold fanams and two varieties of double rupees in silver. The issue of the latter was limited. The copper coins consisted of paisas and quarter paisas. The coins minted at Ferokabad consisted of gold fanams and double, single, half and quarter paisas in copper.

In 962 M.E. (1786-87) Tippoo discontinued the Hyderee fanams and pagodas and substituted the Sultanee fanams and pagodas (or Hoons) in their place. The pagoda was the equivalent of four rupees. Thus 8⅛ fanams made a rupee and 12½ of them a Sultanee pagoda. The Sultanee fanams gradually became depreciated in value and in 1790-91 only 13½ of them could make a pagoda of the value of four rupees. This was either due to their large number or the manipulations of the Shroffs. Anyway though the Sultanee fanam was 16¾% higher in value than the Hyderee fanam which it supplanted its excess value in process of time fell to 13⅜% and still later even to 10%[6].

1. Mr. Agnew's account, July 1798.
2. *Joint Commission report*, 1798.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Mr. Agnew's account, July 1798.
5. Henderson, *Coins of Hyder Ali and Tippoo.*
6. *Commissioner's report*, 1801.

In the schedule attached to the Treaty of Seringapatam, 1792 it may be noted that Tippoo had valued his mint profits at 80,000 pagodas. It is possible that they might not have reached that level.

At first Tippoo's revenue accounts were maintained and reckoned in Cunterai pagoda, nominal like pound sterling. Such a pagoda or hoon was valued at 10 fanams. Its rate of exchange was often arbitrary though generally it ranged from $8\,^1/_9$ rupees to $8\,^1/_{13}$ rupees. Fanams upto forty were reckoned only as such; but fifty fanams would be put down as five Hoons. Thus the Cunterai Hoon was only a matter of account, used for simplicity in reckoning. Subsequently, however, Tippoo appears to have adopted the Sultanee Chakram as the standard of his accounts. He fixed a certain rate of which the different types of coins were to be received in his treasury. Singam Pillai, one of the principal revenue officers under his government, refers to instances in which nearly 120 different coins were received in his treasury and reduced at first to Sultanee fanams and then to Sultanee Chakrams. The Sultanee Chakram was a nominal coin equal in value to the Cunterai pagoda; their mutual difference was only in name. But once again the Cunterai pagoda or hoon became the accepted standard and in the treaty of Seringapatam it was made use of in preparing the revenue accounts shown in the attached schedule.

After Malabar passed under the English Company the mint was removed back to Calicut. The new coins, called Vir Rayen fanams, were small in size. They bore the Zamorin's stamp and were in circulation in his territories. The fanam was composed of copper, silver and gold and enjoyed no standard value. Sixteen visoms constituted such a fanam. In contrast to the old coinage, the new one possessed in every ten fanams (or one Hoon of account) $1\frac{1}{4}$ grain of superior touch of metal. Just like the Sultanee fanam, the new Vir Rayen too became rapidly depreciated in value so that in spite of superiority in weight $10\frac{1}{2}$ Vir Rayens could purchase only ten Sultanees. The Zamorin also minted copper pice called Puthans and there were double, single, half and quarter pice.

At first all the utensils of the mint were with the Zamorin. In 1792 the Calicut mint was farmed to him[7] for Rs. 15,000. But in June, 1793 it was arranged that the direction and control of the mint in all details should be subject to the orders of the Company. The net profit was to be equally divided between the Company and the Zamorin.[8]

7. *Bombay Commission's diary*, 5 September 1792.
8. *Agreement with the Zamorin*, 1793.

There were, in Malabar at this time, several coins in circulation. The troops from Travancore brought with them the silver Chakrams eight of which could be exchanged for an old Vir Rayen fanam; they rapidly died out. Similarly the Hyderee and Sultanee fanams also were fast disappearing. The old Vir Rayens once again were becoming popular. The Venetians, Moidores and Dollars were common but they held no fixed standard of exchange. Bahadur, Sultanee and Ikeri (or Mangalore) hoons also were current.

In the south, the ryots paid their rent to the land-owners in gold fanams, old or new and sometimes, in other coins as well. There was no fixed rule, however. The Company accepted the Bombay rupee as the standard for estimating the value of other coins. The pay of the soldier was fixed in Bombay rupee. At the Tellicherry treasury, in north Malabar, gold Venetians, rupees, pagodas and silver fanams were received.[9]

It was soon realised that the Company should have one standard coinage for its establishment. One of the suggestions was that the Zamorin's coinage should be made current throughout Malabar. But the coins were too small for convenient exchange. Mr. Murdoch Brown proposed the minting of gold mohur (sixteen rupees) and half, quarter, one-eighth and one-sixteenth mohurs and silver coins like half and quarter rupees and fanams (at the rate of five for a rupee). He was of the view that the Company could have its copper coins brought from Europe. Sir John Shore, in his minute on the Joint Commission Report, expressed his desire to have new coinage for circulation in Malabar. As already stated, the new Vir Rayens had become very much depreciated in value and so the local merchants were unable to make their foreign payments in debased coinage except at a loss. This was another reason that prompted the idea of new coinage. Moreover the Company felt that the old inscriptions on the coins were inconsistent with its sovereignty in Malabar. In 1796 it was therefore resolved[10] that the minting of gold fanams at Calicut should be discontinued. The stoppage was however temporary as the coins were popular among the people of the interior. In case of the introduction of new coins, the Company would purchase the fanams at its own expense in anticipation of huge profits in the future.

In 1796-97 the coins circulating in north Malabar were very much inadequate in number. Hence the Company agreed to pay and receive in gold fanams also in future.[11] There was a large quantity of such coins in the treasury at Calicut and they could be easily diverted to the

9. *Joint Commission's diary*, 28 March 1793.
10. *Second* (Malabar) *Commission's Revenue diary*, 15 July 1796.
11. *Government Committee Diary*, 14 July 1797.

north for circulation. Such a step would also facilitate exchange between the merchants of the north and those of the south. Yet the ryots in the north continued to pay their revenues in silver fanams only.

In the region of Palghat the accounts were kept in Feringy or Portonovo pagodas or Varahans, Pudamani or Vir Rayen Fanams and Kas (copper). Various other types also prevailed. The minting of Kas was exclusively farmed to a person for a fixed annual sum to be paid to the Government. It was in circulation in the villages and the bazars in Palghat. The farmer issued the Kas coins at the rate of 22 for a fanam and at the end of the year bought the old ones at the rate of forty. The petty traders were of course at a disadvantage. In 1797, therefore, the Government decided to abolish the Kas farming and introduce its own copper coins in the region.[12] As far as the copper coinage at Tellicherry was concerned, it consisted of Paisas, ten of which made a silver fanam.

Towards 1800-01 the Company's accounts, as sent to the head-quarters at Calicut, came to be reckoned in Rupees, Quarters and Reas, one hundred Reas making a quarter. The revenue settlements were effected in terms of Hoon, Fanam and Kas (Forty Kas were equal to a fanam and ten fanams to a Hoon). In the bazars the Rupee remained the standard of exchange.

With the help of the administrative reports of Mr. Wye and Mr. Strachey, the relative values of the different coins as prevalent in 1800-01 may be given below :—

(*A*) *South Malabar*:

(1) 1 Hoon	= 10	new Vir Rayen	Fanams	
(2) 1 old Vir Rayen	= $\frac{7}{8}$	,,	,,	,,
(3) 1 Star pagoda	= $12\frac{1}{2}$	,,	,,	,,
(4) 1 Portonovo pagoda	= $11\frac{3}{8}$	,,	,,	,,
(5) 1 Bombay rupee	= $8\frac{3}{4}$	,,	,,	,,
(6) 1 Surat rupee	= $8\frac{1}{2}$	,,	,,	,,
(7) 5 Silver fanams	= $8\frac{1}{2}$	,,	,,	,,
(8) 1 Gold Mohur	= 56	,,	,,	,,
(9) 1 Moidores	= $64\frac{3}{4}$	,,	,,	,,

12. *Government Committee diary*, 8 October 1797.

(*B*) *North Malabar*:

(1) 1 Bombay rupee	= 5	Silver fanams
(2) 3½ gold fanams	= 5	,, ,,
(3) 1 Venetian	= 25	,, ,,
(4) 1 Star pagoda	= 18⅛	,, ,,
(5) 1 Portonovo pagoda	= 16¼	,, ,,
(6) 1 Mohur	= 80	,, ,,
(7) 10 Copper pice	= 1	,, ,,

In 1802 it was felt that the existing rate of exchange should be modified and regulated. For example, the star pagoda was found to contain seven fanams' value of pure gold and according to the prevalent rate it was exchanged in south Malabar for 12½ Vir Rayens which contained only 5⅞ fanams' value of gold. To remedy this it was proposed to regulate and equalise the exchange of all the current coins according to a prescribed table of rates. Such a measure was expected to remedy the loss that Malabar sustained in its trade with the adjacent countries. The Beypore proclamation on 31 August, 1802 erroneously fixed the exchange rates of nearly 23 current coins received and issued in the treasury as they were then rated and exchanged in Coimbatore. The new exchange was to be obseeved from 15 September, 1802. The new table of rates lowered the value of gold fanams from 3½ to $4^{7}/_{32}$ per rupee (from 12¼ to $14^{49}/_{64}$ per star pagoda) and the value of silver fanams from 5 to 5½ per rupee (from 17½ to 19¼ per star pagoda). It was later reported[13] to the Board of Revenue that the rates promulgated " in fact raised the revenue in every individual.....20 % in gold fanam and 10% in silver while, for their commodities in the markets.....they could get only the old rates of 3½ gold and 5 silver fanams per rupee." Anyway the new table of rates was cancelled in 1803.

In 1805 the Government authorised the opening of a mint at Tellicherry for making silver Vir Rayen fanams.[14]

In 1807 the Government announced, by proclamation, the withdrawal from circulation (in the territories under Madras Government) of gold and silver coins like Ikeri pagodas, Venetians, Headed Venetians, Moidores, Dollars, Spanish Dollars, Sultanee Rupees and Pondicherry Rupees. It returned to the treasury, at Calicut their equivalent was to be paid in other coins at the established provincial rates of exchange.

13. From Mr. Rickards to Board of Revenue, 27 April 1803.
14. *Collectorate records*, vol. 2240 (12-8-1805).

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Even after 1807, Bombay and Surat Gold Mohurs and Surat Rupees were current in Malabar. The internal coinage continued to consist of gold and silver fanams, old and new. Even as late as 1820 there still continued five kinds of new and nine kinds of old fanams in Malabar.

The period under review therefore was characterised by a variety of types of coins with their rates of exchange changing from time to time. It is one of transition indicating the changed political status of the Company as well as the ruling chiefs of Malabar. The reduction of the system of coinage to uniformity and simplicity was certainly a long-sketched process.

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EARLY RELATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE WITH THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR 1500–1552

Dr. George Moraes

When the King of Portugal sent out his men on the quest of the sea-route to the Indies, one of his most urgent instructons to these explorers was that they should diligently search for Christians in all those remote regions lying on their route. How profoundly the religious aspect of their mission inspired these pioneers is evident from the instinctive reply of the very first Portuguese whom Vasco da Gama sent ashore on reaching Calicut in 1498. When angrily accosted by a Muslim, he answered that they had come to seek the Christians and spices.

Vasco da Gama does no seem to have made any attempt to look for Christians either at Calicut or Cananore on this his first voyage to India. He could have certainly sought for them at either of these places, but would seem to have refrained from doing so for fear of rousing the suspicion of the rulers against the Christian community. And so it was left to Pedro Alvares Cabral, who headed the second Portuguese expedition to India in 1500,[1] to make the acquaintance of the Syrian Christians of Malabar.

Despite the conclusion of a treaty with the Zamorin of Calicut, Cabral found his relations with the latter steadily deteriorating, and he had perforce to turn for an alliance to the Zamorin's rival, the King of Cochin.[2] In the friendly atmosphere of Cochin there was no need for observing any reserve, and the native Christians freely fraternized with their brethren from distant Europe. The relations between them grew so intimate that two of these Malabar Christians, the brothers Matthias and John, successfully prevailed on Cabral to take them to Portugal. They wanted to go on a pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem, and then visit their Patriarch in Antioch. Matthias died in Portugal, but John was able to proceed on his journey to Italy. At Venice he was lionized by the citizens who were curious to know something of his Christianity which was reputed to have been planted by St. Thomas the Apostle. And from the information he gave them a whole volume was compiled in Latin entitled *Novus Orbis*.[3]

1. João de Barros, *Da Asia*, decada I, l. V, ch. I, p. 384.

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The relations between the Portuguese and the Christians took a somewhat political turn in 1502 when Vasco da Gama came on his second voyage to India. At Cochin he received a deputation of these St. Thomas Christians. They complained to him that they were being persecuted by the non-Christians among whom they lived, and the community was in danger of being completely destroyed. They begged da Gama to take them under his protection, and save these Chirstian people who were a memorial to the work and martyrdom of St. Thomas. In return they offered their allegiance to da Gama as the representative of one of the most Catholic and powerful kings of Christendom. And as a token of their submission they offered him what they had always prized as their valued possession, the rod of justice. This rod was coloured red, and appeared like a sceptre. It was also embellished with silver at both ends, one of which had three silver bells attached to it.

Vasco da Gama was highly pleased with this offer and assured them that it was his mission to look after the interests of the Christians wherever they be. He knew the oppressive conditions under which they lived, but regretted his inability owing to shortness of time to do anything at the moment to assuage their distress. He however promised that he would leave instructions with one of his captains, who was then at Cananore, and that they should have recourse to this captain in case of need. He also told them that he would move the King of Portugal on their behalf and they could confidently expect a a royal writ by the very first fleet to leave Portugal and with this writ they would be consoled. And in order that they may go satisfied with the result of their deputation he made them a present of a sword.[4]

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 442.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 446-47. The author here refers to the Latin translation of the book by Simon Grynaeus, published at Basle 1532. The original works written in Venetian Italian by Fracan-Montalboddo, and published in 1507 under the title: Paesi nouamente retrouati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino initulato with the Colophon: Stampato in Vicentia con la impensa de Magistro Henrico Vicentino & diligente cura & industria de Zanmaria suo fiol nel Mccccc. VII a/di III de Nouembre. It is an extremely rare book. According to Fr. George Schurhammer there are additions and omissions in the Latin translation, which what the essential changes made by the editor is not true to the original and therefore unreliable. This Latin translation gives the narration of Alouise da Ca da Mosto about his voyage to West Africa in 1463, a relation of the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India in 1497, and the Indian countries, of the voyage of Cabral in 1500, of those of Columbus and Vespucci, and finally in the 6th book some contemporary letters from Lisbon about Cabral's voyage, to which the editor adds chapters 229-242 about Joseph the Indian according to the relations of those who conversed with him during his sojourn in Venice. Earlier in 1490 this Joseph had joined the delegation from the St. Thomas Christians to the Catholicos of the East Syrians in Gazarta Bet Zabdai in Mesopotamia, to ask for bishops to the Malabar Church, and was himself ordained priest by the Catholicos, 'being fairly well-instructed.' This information is found in the MS. referred to in note 4 below and also in the present work. Schurhammer, "The Malabar Church and Rome before the coming of the Portuguese, Joseph the Indian's Testimony," *Kerala Society Papers*, II, 11, pp. 291-92. In this important article Fr. Schurhammer has given excerpts from the original edition of 1507 in Venetian Italian alongside the translation of these passages into English.

4. Barros *op. cit.* II, pp. 62-65.

Vasco da Gama was as good as his word. It was no doubt at his instance that D. Manoel wrote a letter to one of these Christians, also named Matthias, who was possibly the leader of the deputation. Matthias was a man of substace. Two years later he is found supplying a cargo of spices to a number of ships in the Portuguese fleet homeward bound.[5] In his letter the Portuguese monarch promised succour to these ancient Christians. And on their behalf Matthias thanked him for the help that he had so generously promised, saying, ' All of us were in need of (learning) many things (of the Faith) which we did not know; nor had we teachers to teach them to us. But God opened for us this route which permits your people to come to this country for the salvation of our souls.'[6]

The appearance of the Portuguese in Malabar with considerable military power was indeed a great encouragement to this Christian minority threatened with extinction by the power, numbers and weath of the followers of the crescent who were in league with the Hindu princes of the Malabar coast. Thus it was that when the bishops Mar Yahballaha, Mar Denha, Mar Thomas and Mar Jacob, who had been sent by the Catholicos of the East Syrians in Mesopotamia to govern this Indian Christian community, landed in Malabar in 1503, they wrote to the Catholicos in the most enthusiastic terms of the Portuguese: ' May you also know, Fathers, that from the Occident powerful ships have been sent to these countries of India by the king of the Christians, who are our bretheren the *Franks*. Their voyage took them the whole year, and they sailed first towards the South and circumnavigated Kush, which is called Habesh. From there they came to this country of India, purchased pepper and other merchandises and returned to their land.

' By this way thus explored the said king (whom may God preserve in safety !) sent six other huge ships, with which they crossed the sea in half a year and came to the town of Calicut, people extremely well-versed in nautical science.'[7]

5. Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação para afficloria das Missões do Padroado Portuguescs do Oriente. India*, vol. I, p. 26.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

7. Schurhammer, "Three Letters of Mar Jacob," *Gregorianum*, vol. XIV, pp. 66. English translation. The account is preserved in a copy of the end of the 16th century in Codex of Vatic. Fondo Siriaco 204 v-160 in the Vatican Library and edited in Syriac with Latin translale on by J. S. Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Romæ, 1725, III, p. I; 589-97, given in the Vatic. Syr. 204. According to Cardinal Tisserant it is a strange compilation of Arab and Syriac texts in Nestorian characters brought from the East by Andre Scander, following his mission of 1718-21. Tisserant, " Syro-Malabare (L'Eglise)," *Diclionnaire de la Theologie Catholique*, vol. XIV, c. 3097. An earlier English translation by H. Hoston, "The St. Thomas Christians of Malabar," had appeared in *Kerala Society's Papers*, Series 5, pp. 225-58 from the same source.

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On disembarking at Cananore the Bishops were welcomed by the Factor and treated with the usual heart-warming Portuguese hospitality. And so the grateful prelates reported to the Catholicos: 'We were received by them with the greatest joy and they gave us beautiful vestments and 20 gold drachmas and honoured our pilgrimage exceedingly for Christ's sake. We remained with them two and half months and they told us, we also should on a certain day celebrate the holy mysteries, that is to say, offer the Holy Sacrifice. And they destined for it a beautiful place fit for prayer, wherein there was a kind of Oratory. Their priests offer daily the Holy Sacrifice, for othis is their custom and rite.

Therefore, on Sunday Nosardel,[8] after their priest had celebrated, we also were admitted and celebrated the Holy Sacrifice, and it was pleasing in their eyes.'[9]

Nothing much is heard of the bishops during this early period. According to the information supplied to Joao de Barros, the Portuguese historian, two of the bishops, Mar Yaballaha and Mar Denha, died soon after their arrival.[10] Mar John, who had been in Malabar before them since 1490-91, either preceded or followed them to the grave[11] and Mar Jacob and Mar Thomas divided the juridictions between themselves and established their sees at Quilon and Cananore respectively.[12]

The Portuguese continued to maintain the most cordial relations with the Christians of St. Thomas. In 1510 Albuquerque ordered the Factor of Cochin to give 10,000 fanams to the Abuna (bishop) of Cranganore either in cash or in kind for stopping leakages in the roof of the church and for other repairs.[12a] In the treaty which he concluded in 1516 with the Queen of Travancore, Lopo Soares, Albuquerque's successor, imposed a condition that the government of Travancore should rebuild the church of St. Thomas at Quilon which had been destroyed in 1505, and restore their ancient rights to the Christians of St. Thomas.[12b]

There however could have been no doubt in the mind of the Portuguese clergy that the St. Thomas Christians, though they were Cathoics in all but commnnion with Rome, yet held certain notions

8. 7th Sunday after Pentecost.
9. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
10. Barros, decada III, l. VI ch. XI p. 401.
11. Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, 2, 1, 2, 16.
12. Barros, *loc. cit.*

12a. Silva Rego, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

12b. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

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savouring of Nestorianism, which the former could not but disapprove.[12c] And so as years passed efforts were made to purge them of these notions and to bring them into line with the Roman Church. The experienced missionaries rightly felt that this was too delicate a task, which could only be accomplished by degrees. And it is significant that St. Francis Xavier during his apostolate of ten years (1542-1552) went even so far as to propose that in the invocation of the Blessed Virgin the words 'Holy Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ, Son of God' be substituted for the usual formula 'Mother of God.'[13] True, St. Francis Xavier was not working among the St. Thomas Christians when he proposed this change, but among the Paravas that had been recently converted. All the same he was in the region occupied by the St. Thomas Christians, and did not wish to offend their ear by a formula to which they had not been accustomed for centuries and excite their prejudices against the Church. But Fr. Alvaro Penteado to whose care these Christians at San Thomé (Mylapore near madras) were committed by orders of the king went the whole hog, and in so doing made himself most unpopular. 'Your Highness has sent here a priest named Penteado,' wrote Fr. Sebastiao Pires, the Vicar General, to the King in his letter of 16th December, 1527. 'He does not seem to be quite fit to instruct them, for he is impetuous and irritable, and the people who are Christians since the time of St. Thomas are greatly dissatisfied with him, and this they have told me many times. And in order to verify this Your Highness has only to consider the fact that though he has been occupied with this work for ten years he has not baptized a single person. Send me an order appointing me (for this work) and Your Highness will see what results I shall achieve in one year. These Christians are on good terms with me."[14]

12c. From the account of Fr. Joseph (*cf.* note above) it seem that their communion with Rome had been severed by circumstances beyond their control. Fr. Joseph correctly stated the position of his Church, when asked by Pope Alexander as to the source of the authority of his Catholicha, he replied : " At the time of Simon Magus, Peter was Pontiff in Antiochtia. And as the Christians in the pets of Rome were molested by the craft of this Simon Magus, and as there was nobody who could withstand him, they sent to Saint Peter entreating him to transfer himself to Rome. So he left a Vicar behind in his place and went to Rome. And this is the one who at present is calld Catholicha and he *rules in the name of Peter.* And as regards the creation of the said Pontiff or Catholicha the 12 aforesaid Cardinals betake themselves to th province of Armenia, where they create their Pontiff, which authority they say they have from the Roman Pontiff." The Portuguese historian Damiao de Goes who had met Fr . Joseph and obtained his information about the Malabar Church from the latter further elucidates the position of this Church in his *Cronica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel* (ed. 1926), pt. I, pp. 214-16, which leaves no doubt about its close approximation to the Catholic Church. *Cf.* Antonio da Silva Rego, *Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente, India*, vol. I, p. 382. For the English translation of the passage from Damião de Goes may I refer the reader to my brochure, *St. Francis Xavier Apostolic Nuncio* 1542-52, p. 7, published in 1952 to commemorate the Fourth Centenary of the death of the great Saint and Apostle, and which had originally appeared in *JBBRAS*, vol. XXVIII, of the new series.

13. *Monumenta Xaveriana*, I, tome I, pp. 278 Sq., 288 cited by Tisserant, *op. cit.*, c. 8100.

14. Silva Rego, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 143-44.

The Dominican Friar Vincent de Laguna had heard reports against Fr. Penteado from the Portuguese on the Coromandel coast. And so he wrote to the King condemning Penteado in stronger terms: 'Your Highness knows that at San Tomé there are countless Christians, who are instructed as you have ordered. The administration of the Christians and of the church of the Apostle is in the hands of a priest called Alvaro Penteado. From what the Portuguese write about him he knows very little and is very dissolute. They wrote many things about him to the Governor, and then drove him away from there, saying that if he returned they would kill him on account of his bad example.'[15]

Penteado suspected Nestorianism in every rite and ceremony of the Malabar Church and would appear to have determined on an instantaneous reformation of the Church and its practices. Writing about the previling practices he says: 'Their baptism is in Greek, and it appears to me to be Nestorian. Before baptism they bless the beans and fruit in the mouth of the child, naming it, as of old, and which, as I believe, still continues amongst the Greeks. They go to baptism in seasons, *i.e.*, from Easter to Easter. Nor do they use salt, or have confirmation. They have no individual but a general confession. They receive the Eucharist in oil and salt. They dont elevate the chalice at all, and they divide the Host into many parts....."[16]

But happily for the harmony among Christians the religions affairs in Malabar were in the safe hands of the Franciscans. They very wisely got round Bishop Jacob, and through his intsrumentality reconciled a large number of the St. Thomas Christians to the Catholic Church.[17] But even the Franciscans wished needlessly ot latinize the Malabar Church. 'There is a Christian (in Cranganore) called Simon,' wrote the Franciscan commissary Friar Laurenço do Goes, 'who lives nine or ten leagues from Cochin.....He is the first that buildt a church in our style. I went to help him and we made altars, and there I said mass and administered baptism to many. Through the influence of the old man not a soul is left unbaptized there."[18] In 1541 Friar Vincent de Lagos established a college at Cranganore for the education of the sons of the St. Thomas Christians, and very soon a hundred boys from the best families were gathered in this college.[19] Mar Jacob helped the friars in their mission. He even ageed to the acceptance of the Latin rite by some of his flock. But Mar Thomas resisted. Writing to the

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 359.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
19. J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. II, 37, 8.

King in December 1586 Friar Lourenço de Goes obsrved that he was of ' pouqua ajuda ', and taught many erroneous doctrines specially with regard to confession, but that he had since repented, having been well entertained as a guest for a year in the Franciscan monastery at Goa.[20]

Though they were not as statesmanlike as himself in their endeavour to make the path to Rome easy for the St. Thomas Christians, St. Francis Xavier appreciated the work of Friar Vincent and his fellow-Franciscam who were wearing themselves out in their service. And so when the Friar requested him to write to Loyola for obtaining from the Holy See plenary indulgences for the two churches of St. Thomas and St. James in the fort of Cranganore on the days of their respecive feasts together with their octaves, he readily consented, and wrote to Loyola that he should try to obtain the indulgences through his efforts ' for the greater increase of devotion among the Christians of the land who are descendants of those whom St. Thomas converted and who are themselves very devout.'[21] He also recommended for the consideration of the Portuguese monarch the old and saintly Bishop, Mar Jacob, who for forty-five years had laboured hard in the service of the Christians of St. Thomas and His Highness and who 'now in his old age was very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the church of Rome.' He requested the King that he should bid his Governor and the other Portuguese authorities accord him due honour and kindness, when he approached them for some favour, at the same time reminding the King that ' he stood more in need of the Bishop's prayers than the Bishop of his temporal favours.'[22]

It was Xavier's desire that these Christians of St. Thomas should find an honoured place in the ' Asia Portuguesa.' And so when he saw that they were not treated as they deserved, and that those of them that traded in papper were being actually cheated by the Portuguese merchants in regard to weights and measures, he contrived through his friend, Fr. Michael Vaz, the Vicar General, whom he deputed to Portugal to place the religious affairs before the King, that the King should order D. Joâo de Castro, the Governor, personally to see to it that these Christian merchants were no longer so defrauded and their ancient customs of trade were scrupulously maintained. On this occasion, the King was pleased to issue definite instructions in regard to the St. Thomas Christians, and in the course of this he commended them for being such good Christians as he was told thy were, and expressed his gratitude

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-44.

21. Schurhammer and Wicki, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xavieri* (Rome : apud Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu, 1944), vol. I, 70, 18.

22. *Ibid.*, 77, 4.

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for the loyalty with which they served him which justified the confidence he reposed in them. He promised to favour them always, and lest the promise remain a dead letter, he charged Michael Vaz with the duty of investigating if any injury be done to them and of looking after their interests as meticulously as if they were the interests of the Crown, and instructed him that in case there were complaints, he should immediately move the Governor for redress and report all matters to him. [28]

28. Wicki, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 11, 10.

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APPENDICES

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

Annual Report 1958

The Secretary has pleasure in placing before the members of the Indian History Congress Association the Report for the year 1958.

Membership

During the year under review, about 400 members enrolled themselves, distributed state-wise as follows :—Andhra 19 ; Assam 7 ; Bihar 45 ; Bombay 102 ; Delhi 20 ; Kashmir 2 ; Kerala 5 ; Madhya Pradesh 21 ; Madras 12 ; Mysore 12 ; Orissa 11 ; Punjab 6 ; Rajasthan 11; U. P. 40 and West Bengal 124. It will thus be seen that during the year our membership has increased by 150, a circumstance which shows that considerable interest is being evinced throughout the country in the activities of the Association.

Necrology

2. It is with deep sorrow that we record the sad demise of three eminent scholars, *viz.*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Sir John Marshall and Prof. G. B. Pandya. Sir Jadunath was one of the greatest historians that India has produced. His works on Aurangzeb, Shivaji and the later Mughals have now become classics, throwing entirely new light on the period of history covered by him. He also brought out a translation of Persian manuscripts and was at his death engaged on his last work *The Military History of India from* 328 *B.C. to A.D.* 1803, *i.e.*, from Alexander to Wellington, which is his last gift to our country.

3. In Sir John Marshall, we have lost an Archaeologist of international repute who was responsible for the re-organisation of the Indian Archaeological Survey in 1902. He co-ordinated the results obtained from the exavations at Mahenjodaro and Harappa following in the wake of the epoch-making discoveries of R. D. Banerji, in a monumental work, which gave a new orientation to the existing ideas regarding the antiquity of Indian civilisation. He believed that Archaeological knowledge could only be diffused by means of local museums ; and during his tenure of office as Director-General of Archaeology of over 25 years, he founded scores of Archaeological museums all over the country, in which antiquities as and when discovered are being exhibited and made available for study.

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4. Prof. G.B. Pandya was a promising scholar who had been recently promoted to the Chair of History in the M. S. University of Baroda. It is a matter of deep regret that a scholar holding out such high promise should be cut off by a cruel fate in the prime of life. He had projected the publication of a series of volumes from the records of the Gaekwad of Baroda ; and we understand that a couple of volumes of these records are ready for the press.

Work Done

5. Soon after we took charge of the Indian History Congress Association, one our first tasks was to get an invitation for holding the Twenty-first Session. We are happy to record that Dr. John Mathai, Vice-Chancellor, University of Kerala, promptly responded to our request and invited us to meet at Trivandrum under the auspices of the Kerala University. We are profoundly grateful to him and to the Univer-versity for their kind invitation and to the State Government of Kerala for their generous help and co-operation.

In particular, our best thanks are due to His Excellency Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, Governor, Kerala State and Chancellor, Kerala University, for inaugurating this Session, to Shri E. M. Sankaran Nambudiripad, Chief Minister, Kerala State, for opening the Historical Exhibition, and to Prof. Joseph Mundasseri, Education Minister, Kerala State and Pro-Chancellor, Kerala University, for presiding over the Local History Section and identifying himself generally with the activities of the Association.

6. It may be mentioned that the State Government of Assam have graciously invited the Indian History Congress Association to hold its Session at Gauhati next year and the Executive Committee has thankfully accepted the invitation.

7. The Executive Committee appointed a Sub-committee consisting of MM. Prof. D. V. Potdar, Dr. P. M. Joshi, Dr. George Moraes, Dr. V. G. Hatalkar and Dr. V. D. Rao to express their opinion on the Historical Records (of National Importance) Bill, 1957, introduced in Parliament by Dr. Raghuvir Sinh. The Committee accepted the principles underlying the Bill and forwarded its observations to Parliament.

8. The Volume of Proceedings of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress, held at Vallabh Vidyanagar last year, has been printed and will now be distributed to members.

Acknowledgement

9. We are happy to observe that the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and the Ministry of Defence, Government of India, and the State Governments of Assam,

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Bombay, Kerala and West Bengal and a number of Universities and Learned Institutes, both in India and abroad, have deputed their representatives to attend the Session. To all of them we take this opportunity of acknowledging their kindness.

10. We are thankful to the Local Executive Committee and the Reception Committee for making our stay here at Trivandrum very comfortable, interesting and instructive, and to Prof. V. Narayana Pillai, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and to Prof. P. S. Raghavan, Local Secretary, Indian History Congress, for their untiring efforts in helping to make the Session an unqualified success.

SENATE HOUSE,
UNIVERSITY OF KERALA, TRIVANDRUM,
27th December, 1958.

GEORGE M. MORAES,
General Secretary.

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1958, TRIVANDRUM

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1957

I herewith present the report of the income and expenditure of the Indian History Congress Association for the year ending 31st. Dec. '57. The total membership stood at 304 including 54 Life Members. Only two Life Members were enrolled during the session.

The year under review opened with Rs. 1136-56 as Cash in hand, Rs. 8015-33 in current account, so the opening balance was Rs. 9151-89 only. This includes Rs. 5000/- of Dugar's Fund set apart for specific purpose. There is in Fixed Deposit Rs. 2923-19.

The total receipts during the year under review including the opening balance and the fixed deposit amount came to Rs. 16387-11. Of this, Rs. 3735/- came from membership fee and Rs. 400/- from Life-Membership fee. The total expenditure during the period amounted to Rs. 7093-39, of which Rs. 4804-75 were spent in the publication of the Agra volume, Rs. 675/- towards salary, Rs. 474-39 towards postage and Rs. 547-53 towards printing and stationery, and the rest in other items (*vide* Balance Sheet).

So on 31st December 1957, the Congress accounts stood as follows:— Rs. 1270-28 Cash in hand, Rs. 5058-44 in current Account with the State Bank of India and Rs. 2965/- in fixed deposit.

V. G. HATALKAR,
Treasurer.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Year ended on 31st Dec. 1957

RECEIPTS	Rs.	nP.	PAYMENTS	Rs.	nP.
To Opening Balance :			By Postage and Telegram	474	39
Cash in hand	1,136	56	„ Miscellaneous Exp.	122	55
With State Bank of India :			„ Travelling Allowance	204	09
In Current account	8,015	88	„ Printing and Stationery	547	58
In Fixed Deposit	2,928	19	„ Salary	675	00
„ Subscription	3,785	00	„ Subscription	—	—
„ Life Membership fee	400	00	„ Publication Charges	4,804	75
„ Received from Members collection charges ...	5	72	„ Bank Charges	21	70
„ Interest of Fixed Deposit	43	81	„ Audit fee	50	00
„ Sale of Proceedings	112	50	„ Govt. Grant Refund	168	37
„ Advance subscription for 1958	15	00	„ Adjustment for conversion into new coinage	0	01
			„ Furniture	25	00
			„ Closing Balance :		
			Cash in hand	1,270	28
			With State Bank :		
			In Current account	5,058	44
			In Fixed Deposit	2,965	00
Total	16,887	11	Total	16,887	11

Income and Expenditure Statement for the Year ended on 31st December, 1957

EXPENDITURE	Rs.	nP.	INCOME	Rs.	nP.
To Postage and Telegram	474	39	By Life Membership Fee	400	00
„ Miscellaneous Expenses	122	55	„ Subscription	3,735	00
„ Travelling Allowance	204	09	„ Bank Collection	5	72
„ Printing & Stationery	547	53	„ Sale of Proceedings	112	50
„ Salary	675	00	„ Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Income carried over to Balance Sheet ...	2,815	17
„ Publication Charges	4,804	75			
„ Bank charges	21	70			
„ Audit fee	50	00			
„ Govt. Grant refund in respect of receipt in previous year	168	37			
„ Adjustment for conversion into new coingage ...	0	01			
Total	7,068	39	Total	7,068	39

Patna, 2nd May, 1958.

S. N. DATTA AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

B. B. SINHA,
Accountant.

B. P. SINHA,
Treasurer.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

Please refer to our report on the Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1957 enclosed.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1957.

GENERAL FUND	Rs.	nP.		Rs.	nP.
As per last account	4,370	89	*Cash in Hand*		
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income ...	2,815	17	As certified	1,270	28
	1,555	72	*State Bank of India*		
Dugar Rajasthan Fund	5,000	00	In Current Account as certified	5,058	44
Reserve Fund	2,967	00	In Fixed Deposit for reserve Fund *vide* Receipt No. 50776 and 50777	2,965	00
Advance	55	00	*Advance*	210	00
			Furniture as per last a/c Rs. 49 00		
			Addition during the year 25 00	74	00
Total	9,577	72	Total	9,577	72

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have checked the above statement with the Cash-Book and vouchers of the Indian History Congress.

It is to be noted that

(*i*) we are informed that the Dugar Rajasthan Fund Rs. 5000/- is not invested separately, and therefore, is mixed up with the other moneys and represented by the debit balance in the current account with the State Bank of India, Patna ;

(*ii*) the Reserve Fund Rs. 2,928-19 had been invested in Fixed Deposit and therefore Rs. 48-81 earned as interest and re-deposited in Fixed Deposit has been added to it. Thus it is represented by the total value of two fixed deposits in Receipt No. 50776-7 Rs. 2,965-00 and the balance of Rs. 2/- is mixed up with the figures in current account ;

(*iii*) the debit balance of Rs. 210/- and credit balance of Rs. 40/- in Advance of previous years should have been adjusted ;

(*iv*) the cash in Bank as on 31st December 1957 has been reconciled with the certificate given by the Bankers ;

(*v*) the cash on hand as on 31st December 1957 has been certified by the Officers ;

We further report that the Balance Sheet and the annexed Statements of Receipts and Payments and Income and Expenditure Account have been drawn up in accordance with the books and papers of the Indian History Congress, and the information and the explanations given to us and as shown by its Cash Book.

Patna, 2nd May, 1958.

S. N. DATTA AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

B. B. SINHA,
Accountant.

B. P. SINHA,
Treasurer.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Trivandrum Session 1958

Draft Budget Estimates for 1958 *and* 1959

	Income of 1958		*Estimates for* 1959	
	Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
Life Membership fee	200	00	200	00
Membership fee	4500	00	4500	00
Sale of Proceedings	100	00	100	00
Interest on Fixed Deposit	40	00	75	00
	4840	00	4875	00

	1958		1959	
	Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
Establishment	700	00	700	00
Printing of Proceedings	4000	00	4000	00
Postage	400	00	400	00
Stationery	100	00	100	00
Printing of circulars etc.	400	00	400	00
Bank Commission	80	00	80	00
Audit charge	50	00	50	00
Miscellaneous	100	00	100	00
Travelling Allowances	100	00	100	00
	5880	00	5880	00

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

VALLABH VIDYANAGAR SESSION 1957

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held at Vallabh Vidyanagar on 30th December, 1957 at 6-30 p.m.

Dr. K. M. Munshi presided.

The following members were present :—

MM. D. V. Potdar
Dr. V. G. Hatalkar
Principal Shri Ram Sharma
Dr. Sukumar Ray
Dr. S. P. Sen
Dr. M. Rama Rao
Dr. K. K. Datta, (*Secretary*)
Dr. R. R. Sethi, (*Jt. Secretary*)
Dr. B. P. Sinha, (*Treasurer*).

1. Minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were confirmed.

2. The Secretary's report was approved.

3. Resolutions of the History of India Publication Committee were approved. The Executive Committee further considered the resolutions of the Publication Committee, passed on 30th December, 1957 and resolved that all the documents relating to the Publication be placed before the President of the Indian History Congress and that the President is hereby authorised to take necessary steps as he thinks proper in the matters of the publication of the volumes and the supply of volume II to the members of the Indian History Congress.

4. The Statement of accounts of the Indian History Publication Committee was approved.

5. The statement of accounts for 1956 was approved.

6. Budget estimate for 1958 was approved.

7. *Office-Bearers for the year* 1958 :

President	... ...	Shri K. M. Munshi
Vice-Presidents	... ...	MM. D. V. Potdar Dr. S. N. Sen
General Secretary	... ...	Mr. G. M. Moraes
Jt. Secretary	... ...	Dr. M. Rama Rao
Treasurer	... ...	Dr. V. G. Hatalkar.

8. *General President and Sectional Presidents* :

General President	... ...	Dr. K. K. Datta.

Sectional Presidents :

Section I (Ancient India)	Shri S. K. Saraswati
Section II (Mediaeval India)	Dr. Kishori Saran Lal
Section III (Modern India)	Mr. Kasim Ali Sajjan Lal.

9. M/s. S. N. Datta and Co., Chartered Accountants, Patna, were appointed to audit accounts for the year 1957.

10. (*a*) *Prof. R. K. Choudhary* : This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress *resolves* that the Ministry of Education in the Government of India be moved to take immediate steps to make the study of India History and Culture compulsory at all stages throughout the country.

(*b*) *Dr. Manmath Nath Das* : This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress *resolves* that the Government of India be moved to render substantial financial aid to the Indian History Congress for the publication of its Prodceedings immediately after each Annual Session.

(*c*) This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress recommends to the Government of India to take proper steps to collect and preserve the family papers of historical importance of the ex-ruling families.

(*d*) *Prof. K. H. Kamdar* : The resolution was out of order.

(*e*) *MM. D. V. Potdar* : While fully recognising the need of the development projects and their implementation, this Congress wishes to draw the serious attention of the Central and the State Governments, the Parliament and also all Local Bodies to the probable damage and destruction to which the previous antiquities and objects of historical interest, will be naturally exposed in the process of the execution of such development projects which often involve the submerging or otherwise

changing or transforming of large tracts of land wherein such antiquities and objects like images, sculptures, inscriptions, coins, manuscripts and other records, temples, mosques, samadhis, tombs, etc., lie scattered—unsurveyed, unnoticed and uncared for.

This Congress, therefore, urges upon all the abovementioned authorities to take prompt precautions and measures to prevent the likely destruction of our ancient and valuable treasures and to rescue them and preserve them in a suitable manner.

This Congress further appeals to the Archaeologists and Antiquarians, Universities and learned associations to take note of this subject and lend their support in this matter by sending necessary representations to the proper quarters and in other suitable ways.

Resolved that the Executive Committee lend support to the Bill of Dr. Raghubir Sinh.

K. M. MUNSHI
President.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held at Vallabh Vidynagar on the 1st January, 1958.

Shri K. M. Munshi presided.

The following members were present :—

1. Dr. M. Rama Rao
2. Shri P. Sree Rama Sarma
3. Shri K. L. Srivastava
4. Shri P. R. Gokhale
5. Shri G. H. Khare
6. Shri A. C. Sen
7. Shri D. P. Ghosh
8. Shri R. P. Dua
9. Shri V. D. Rao
10. Shri V. G. Hatalkar
11. Shri H. L. Gupta
12. Shri B. K. Singh
13. Shri S. H. Askari
14. Shri K. Sajan Lal
15. Shri Raghubir Sinh
16. Kum. Kamla Sethi
17. Shri Vidyadhar Mahajan
18. Shri Y. Vittal Rao
19. Shri B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao
20. Shri Akhileswar Kumar
21. Shri K. S. Khanna
22. Shri Sudhakar Chatterjee
23. Shri Aditya Pd. Jha
24. Shri Sukumar Bhattacharya
25. Shri N. G. Tavakar
26. Shri Dharma Bhanu
27. Shri G. M. Moaes
28. Shri R. S. Sharma

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29. Shri Arya R. C. G. Tivari
30. Shri Bhabani Charan Ray
31. Shri S. C. Upadhyaya
32. Shri Sukumar Ray
33. Shri S. K. Saraswati
34. Shri S. P. Sen
35. Shri A. K. Majumdar
36. Shri B. N. Puri
37. Shri Yash Pal
38. Shri M. O. Kokil
39. Shri E. R. Kapadia
40. Shri S. S. Vasishta
41. Shri R. K. Sharma
42. Shri Radha Krishna Choudhury
43. Shri K. H. Kamdar
44. Shri K. S. Lal
45. Shri K. G. Chudasama
46. Shri R. R. Sethi
47. Shri K. K. Datta
48. Shri B. P. Sinha
49. Shri Krishan Lal
50. Shri D. V. Potdar
51. Shri M. R. Majumdar
52. Shri Ram Prasad Majumdar
53. Shri P. C. Mustafi
54. Shri B. K. Mallick
55. Smt. Rajasree Das
56. Smt. Sitabangalata Ray
57. Shri Manmath Nath Das
58. Shri Kanti Sompura
59. Shri J. M. Nanavati
60. Shri Jayantilal J. Thakur
61. Shri V. K. Chanda
62. Shri V. R. Deoras
63. Shri M. T. Vyas
64. Shri Adhir Chakravarti
65. Shri S. Arasaratnam
66. Shri A. Krishnaswami
67. Shri C. Saran
68. Shri K. D. Bajpai
69. Shri R. N. Mehta
70. Shri S. K. Desai

The following condolence resolutions were moved from the Chair and passed, all standing :—

(*a*) The Indian History Congress place on record their sense of profound grief on the death of Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri who was the General President of the Nagpur Session of this Congress.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(*b*) The Indian History Congress place on record their sense of profound grief on the death of Prof. V. Gordon Childe, one of the distinguished archaeologiests of modern times.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(*c*) The Indian History Congress place on record their sense of profound grief on the death of Shri Bhaskar Bhale Rao of Gwalior.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

1. Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

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2. The General Secretary placed the Annual Report of the Association for the year 1957.

Resolved that the report be accepted.

3. The Treasurer placed the income and expenditure statement for the year 1956.

Resolved that the income and expenditure statement be accepted.

4. The Treasurer presented the Budget estimate for the year 1958.

Resolved that the Budget estimate be adopted.

5. The report of the Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, was approved.

6. The Statement of accounts of the History of India Publication Committee was approved.

7. The Budget estimate of the History of India Publication Committee was approved.

8. President reported the election of Office-bearers for 1958 and the President and Sectional Presidents for the 21st Session.

President—	Shri K. M. MUNSHI, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay.
Vice-Presidents—	MM. D. V. POTDAR, 77, Shanwar Peth, Poona.
	Dr. S. N. SEN, 6, Ekdalia Place, Calcutta 19.
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Jt. Secretary—	Dr. M. RAMA RAO, Nizam College, Hyderabad.
Treasurer—	Dr. V. G. HATALKAR. 16-B, Sleater Road, Bombay-7.
General President—	Dr. K. K. DATTA, Patna University, Patna-5.

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Sectional Presidents for 1958

Section I (Ancient India) —Shri S. K. SARASWATI,
6/1 Mahendra Road, Calcutta-25.

Section II (Medieval India) —Dr. KISHORE SARAN LAL,
182/8 Professors Colony,
Near Circuit House, Bhopal.

Section III (Modern India) —Mr. KASAM ALI SAJAN LAL,
4266, Sajanlal Street,
Secunderabad, Deccan.

9. The Indian History Congress Association elected the following members of the Executive Committee for 1958.

(1) Dr. R. R. Sethi, 103, Golf Links, New Delhi-3.

(2) Dr. H. L. Gupta, History Dept., Saugor University, Saugor, M.P.

(3) Dr. V. D. Rao, Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay-19.

(4) Dr. Sukumar Ray, 2-B, Lake Temple Road, Calcutta.

(5) Dr. J. N. Banerjee, 28, Manoharpukur Lane, Calcutta-29.

(6) Shri S. K. Saraswati, 6/1 Mahendra Road, Calcutta-25.

(7) Dr. B. P. Sinha, Patna University, Patna-5.

(8) Dr. S. C. Upadhya, 294, Sardar Vallabbhai Patel Road, Bombay-4.

(9) Dr. A. S. Altekar, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Museum Building, Patna.

(10) Shri Ram Sharma, Principal, D. A. V. College, Sholapur.

(11) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 4, Bepin Pal Road, Calcutta-26.

(12) Dr. S. K. Mitra, 1/1 Williams Lane, Calcutta-9.

(13) Dr. B. N. Puri, Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

(14) Shri Arya Ramchandra G. Tewari, V. P. Mahavidyalaya, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Anand, W. Rly.

10. The venue of the next session of the Indian History Congress will be settled by the President.

11. Resolutions passed.

DR. MANMATH NATH DAS.

(*a*) This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress resolves that the Government of India be moved to render substantial, financial aid to the Indian History Congress for the Publication of its Proceedings immediately after each Annual Session.

(*b*) This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress recommends to the Government of India to take proper steps to collect and preserve the family papers of historical importance of the ex-rulling families.

(*c*) PROF. K. M. KAMDAR. The resolution was out of order.

(*d*) MM. D. V. POTDAR.

While fully recognising the need of the development projects and their implementation, this Congress whishes to draw the serious attention of the Central and the State Governments, the Parliament and also all Local Bodies to the probable damage and destruction to which the previous antiquities and objects of historical interest, will be naturally exposed in the process of the execution of such development projects which often involve the submerging or otherwise changing or transforming of large tracts of land wherein such antiquities and objects like images, sculptures, inscriptions, coins, manuscripts and other records, temples, mosques, Samadhis, tombs, etc. lie scattered unsurveyed, unnoticed and uncared for.

This Congress, therefore, urges upon all the above mentioned authorities to take prompt precautions and measures to prevent the likely destruction of our ancient and valuable treasures and to rescue them and preserve them in a suitable manner.

(*e*) RESOLUTION OF PROF. K. K. CHAUDHURY :—

A Sub-Committee of the following members was appointed to consider it :— MM. D. V. Potdar, Dr. R. R. Sethi, Dr. K. K. Datta, Prof. R. K. Chaudhury.

The Indian History Congress views with grave concern that, in some States, History has been made an optional subject at the Secondary stage and resolve that the Executive Committee be authorised to take necessary steps to move the Ministry of Education, Government of India, and the State Governments to make Indian History and Culture a compulsory subject of study at the Secondary stage.

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(*f*) DR. RAGHUBIR SINH'S BILL.

Lends general support. Proposed by Shri R. S. Sharma and seconded by Dr. B . P. Sinha.

(*i*) This 20th session of the Indian History Congress welcomes the introduction of Historical Records of National importance Bill, 1957 and lends its general support to the principles thereof.

(*ii*) This Congress refers this Bill to the Executive Committee for detailed consideration of the details of the Bill and forwarding the suggestion to the Parliament.

(*g*) This Congress recommends to the Executive Committee to approach the Government of India to secure their support to the Indian History Congress for holding with the co-operation of the Indian Universities a Seminar of Asian History on an international basis.

(*h*) Resolved that there be a Central permanent office for the Indian History Congress and that the Executive Committee be authorised to explore the possibilities of securing the same and to submit their proposal at the next general meeting of the Indian History Congress.

K. M. MUNSHI,
President.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1958

1. Sale of '*Comprehensive History of India*' (Vol. II)—2,000 copies were printed; 1595 copies have been sold.

2. As Dr. S. N. Sen, Editor of Vol. IX, continues to be ill, and as Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Editor of Vol. III, is in the U.S.A., it has not been possible to make these volumes ready for the press.

3. The three-year term of the present Committee expires on 31-12-58. Interim arrangements should be made for carrying on work till the formation of the new committee (including election of office-bearers) is completed.

Sd/- A. C. BANERJEE,
Secretary.

Statement of Account of the Publication Committee of the Indian History Congress Association for the period from 1st April, 1957 to 31st March, 1958.

Receipts and Payments for the period from 1st April, 1957 to 31st March, 1958.

	Rs.	nP.		Rs.	nP.
To Postage and Stationery	28	31	By Balance b/fd.	1,06,766	85
„ Establishment	1,075	00	„ Interest...	1,050	00
„ Audit Fee	50	00			
„ Rent	600	00			
„ Balance	1,06,068	54			
Total	1,07,816	85	Total	1,07,816	85

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer.

Details of Balance C/fd. (Assets)

		Rs.	nP.
1.	Cash in Hand	2	17
2.	*With State Bank*		
	Current account	507	64
	Fixed Deposit	70,000	00
3.	*Advances* :		
	(*a*) With Indian History Congress ...	0	31
	(*b*) With Delhi Office	24	81
	(*c*) With Calcutta Office	522	61
	(*d*) With Orient Longmans Ltd.	*35,000	00
	Total ...	1,06,068	54

* We have audited the foregoing statement of accounts of the Indian History Congress Association with the books of account and vouchers rendered and have found the same to be correct. We have, however, observed that a sum of Rs. 35,000/- has been standing to the credit of M/S Orient Longmans' Ltd., for the last number of years. In our opinion an account should be taken from M/S Orient Longman's Ltd., and necessary entries be made in the books of account of the Association.

L. KRISHNAYAR,
Chartered Accountants.

Budget Estimates for 1958-1959.

Office Expenses (Calcutta and Delhi)	Rs.	3,000/-
Travelling Expenses.	Rs.	2,000/-
Payment to Editors and Contributors ...	Rs.	5,000/-
Postage and Stationery	Rs.	200/-
Miscellaneous.	Rs.	500/-
Provision for Vol. III.	Rs.	35,000/-
Total	Rs.	45,700/-

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer,
Indian History Congress.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

(*i*) REPRESENTATIVES, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND STATE GOVERNMENTS

Government of India, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs

Dr. D. C. Sarkar
Shri K. R. Srinivasan

Government of India Ministry of Education

Shri K. D. Bhargava

Government of India, Ministry of Defence

Dr. S. N. Prasad

Government of Assam

Prof. K. N. Dutt

Government of Bombay

Dr. V. R. Deoras
Prof. S. A. Athavale

Government of Kerala

Shri P. K. Karunakara Menon
Shri C. C. David

(*ii*) UNIVERSITIES

Agra University

Prof. S. P. Sinha

Allahabad University

Dr. B. P. Saxena
Dr. B. N. Shukla

Annamalai University

Shri S. Thirujnanasambandan

Banaras University

Principal Raj Bali Pandey
Prof. R. S. Tripathi

M. S. University of Baroda

Dr. R. N. Mehta

Bihar University

Dr. H. Goshwami, Vedantashastri

Bombay University

Dr. V. D. Rao

Calcutta University

Dr. N. K. Sinha

Delhi University

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad

Gujarat University

Dr. H. G. Shastry

Jabalpur University

Dr. R. M. Sinha

Karnatak University

Prof. P. B. Desai

Madras University

Dr. K. K. Pallai

Muslim University, Aligarh

Prof. S. Nurul Hasan
Dr. Irfan Mohmed Habib

Punjab University

Principal K. L. Malhotra
Dr. Hariram Gupta
Dr. R. R. Sethi
Prof. Jagannath Aggarwal

Poona University

Principal Shri Ram Sharma

Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth

Prof. Arya Ramchandra G. Tiwari

Saugar University

Dr. H. L. Gupte

Vishwabharati

Dr. S. Chatterji
Prof. N. B. Roy

Vikram University, Ujjain

Dr. K. S. Lal

(*iii*) LEARNED SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTES

Asiatic Society of Bombay

Prof. H. D. Velankar
Prof. V. R. Gunjikar
Dr. G. M. Moraes
Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
Dr. V. D. Rao

Asiatic Society, Calcutta

Prof. S. K. Saraswati
Dr. P. C. Gupta
Dr. Sukumar Ray
Dr. N. K. Sinha
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Dr. B. C. Sen

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch

Shri Jayawardana
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Shri M. S. Casie Chetty

Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundri

Prof. Y. Vittal Rao
Shri A. V. Rambrahman

Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Poona

MM. Prof. D. V. Potdar
Shri G. H. Khare
Shri P. R. Gokhale

Charutar Vidya Mandal, Vallabh Vidya Nagar

Shri N. M. Dave
Shri A. V. Pandya

Heras Institute, of Indian History and Culture

Dr. José Pereira

Jain Research Institute, Yeotmal

Dadasahib D. G. Mahajan

Kerâla Sahitya Akadami, Trichur

Shri V. Narayan Pallai

Konkan Institute, Bombay

Dr. George Moraes
Dr. V. G. Hatalkar
Dr. V. D. Rao
Dr. José Pereira

U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow

Dr. R. K. Dikshit

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VALLABH VIDYANAGAR, SESSION 1957.

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PATRON

1. Shri Harekrishna Mahtab, Cuttack.

LIFE MEMBERS

2. Shri K. M. Ahmed, Curator, Museum, HYDERABAD (Dn.)
3. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, PATNA.
4. Kum. Padma A. Altekar, C/o. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, PATNA.
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7. Dr. H. K. Barpujari, Prof. of History, Cotton College, Banhali, Ujanbazar, GAUHATI (Assam).
8. Dr. Dharma Bhanu, Prof. of History, Holkar College, INDORE (M.P.)
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29. Maharaj Kumar S. C. Nandy, 302, Upper Circular Road, CALCUTTA 9.
30. Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Tamil Literature Society 52, New Colony, TUTICORIN.
31. Prof. A. B. Pande, Dept. of History, Hindu University, VARANASI 5.
32. Dr. R. B. Pande, Principal, College of Indology, Hindu University, VARANASI 5.
33. Shri I. B. Patel, Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road, Mahim, BOMBAY.
34. Prof. M. J. Pathakji, College Hostels Bungalow, Junagadh, SAURASHTRA.
35. Sardar A. A. Patil, Radha Ganj, DEWAS JR., M.P.
36. Shri L. R. Pendharkar, Studio Miscellanee, Panch Batti, M. Ismail Road, JAIPUR, Rajasthan.
37. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, 77, Shanwar Peth, POONA.
38. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, 68/4/A, Purna Das Road, CALCUTTA 29.
39. Shri Bhabani Charan Roy, Ravenshaw College, CUTTACK, Orissa.
40. Shri Pravin Chandra Ruparel, 83, Mopla Mahal, Girgaum Road, BOMBAY 4.
41. Shri P. Sree Rama Sarma. Lecturer, S. K. B. R. College, Amalapuram, E. G. District, SOUTH INDIA.
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45. Dr. R. R. Sethi, 103, Golf Links, NEW DELHI 3.
46. Shri S. M. Shukla, Raval Tiles Factory, Colaba, BOMBAY 5.
47. Sardar Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, PATIALA.

48. Shri Kuldip Singh, Archives Department, PATIALA.
49. Thakur Batuk Singh, Deputy Financial Adviser, Military Financial Central Secretariat, South Block, NEW DELHI.
50. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh, Raghubir Niwas, SITAMAU, (M.P.).
51. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Professor, Agra College, AGRA.
52. Shri K. L. Srivastava, Professor, Hamidia College, BHOPAL.
53. Shri Gopichand Varma, Lecturer in History, M.S.J. Govt. Degree College, BHARATPUR, Rajasthan.

Ordinary Members

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2. Smt. B. K. Agarwala, C/o. Prof. B. P. Pantheri, Kashi Vidyapith, VARANASI 2.
3. Smt. Radha Rani Devi Agarwala, C/o. Prof. B. P. Pantheri, Kashi Vidyapith, VARANASI 2.
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17. Smt. Jayasree Devi Barkataki, ' The Nook ,' Nonthymmai, SHILLONG, Assam.

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24. Shri Dilip Kumar Biswas, Asst. Prof. of History, 8, Garpar Road, CALCUTTA 9.
25. Shri S. B. Bondale, 252/12, Sadashiv Peth, POONA 2.
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28. Shri Narendra V. Carpenter, Ratna Kunj, Vakola Bridge Lane, Nehru Road, Santa-Cruz, BOMBAY 25.
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34. Shri Lu-Jue Chang, C/o Dr. A. K. Narain, F/4, Hindu University, VARANASI 5.
35. Shri A. Chaoudhary, 61, Gwyer Hall, Delhi University, DELLHI 8.
36. Dr. Nandlal Chatterjee, Kali Sadan, SUNDERBAGH, Lucknow.
37. Prof. R. K. Chaudhury, Head of the Dept. of History, G. D. College, BEGUSARAI (Bihar).
38. Dr. S. B. Chaudhury, Editor, Indian Gazeteers, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Central Secretariat, North Block, NEW DELHI.
39. Shri D. S. Chauhan, Prof. of History, Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya, JABALPUR.
40. Shri C. S. Chowkekar, C/o The Principal, Dadar Vidya Mandir, Off Ranade Road, BOMBAY 28.

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41. Fr. Columbus C. D., St. Joseph's College, Davagiri, Calicut 4, (KERALA).
42. The Curator, Archaeology Museum, MATHURA.
43. The Curator, Lady Wilson Museum, DHARAMPUR, Dist. Surat.
44. The Curator, Victoria Albert Museum, Victoria Gardens, BOMBAY 27.
45. Shri Dilip Das, 21, Hindu College Hostel, DELHI 8.
46. Dr. Manmath Nath Das, Ravenshaw College, CUTTACK 3.
47. Shri N. C. Das, C/o Dr. N. C. Sur, Provat Pharmacy, Kadma MARKET, JAMSHEDPUR.
48. Kum. Pritikana Das, C/o Umesh Library 292/2 Upper Circular Road, CALCUTTA 5.
49. Smt. Rajasree Das, C/o Dr. Manmath Nath Das, Ravenshaw College, CUTTACK 3.
50. Dr. S. R. Das, Dept. of Ancient Indian Hist. and Culture, Calcutta University, CALCUTTA.
51. Dr. Dayal Dass, Archivist, The National Archives of India, JANPATH, New Delhi 2.
52. Prof. Bhabatosh Datta, 121-G, Railabadur Road, BEHALA, Calcutta 34.
53. Dr. K. K. Datta, Principal, Patna College, PATNA 5.
54. Shri V. N. Datta, 5 Central Govt. Hostel, 22, Raja Santosh Road, CALCUTTA 27.
55. Shri N. M. Dave, Secretary, Charutar Vidya Mandal, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Via Anand, W. Rly.
56. Prof. S. S. Dave, 20, New Quarters, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Via ANAND, W. Rly.
57. Prof. Amalendu De, 8-C, Darga Road, CACLUTTA, 17.
58. Shri Barun De, 'Brajanandini', 52/2, Baligunj Circular Road, CALCUTTA 19.
59. Shri Dwijen De, 312/1, Gopal Lal Tagore Road, 2nd Floor, Baranagar, CALCUTTA 36.
60. Smt. Naseema De C/o Prof. Amalendu De, 8-C, Darga Road, CALCUTTA 17.
61. Shri Rabindra Kumar De, C/o, Dr. B. K. De, Bank Area, JAMSHEDPUR.
62. Dr. V. R. Deoras, Gore Peth, Opp. Commerce College, NAGPUR.
63. Shri P. B. Desai, K. R. Institute, Malamaddi, DHARWAR.
64. Shri V. G. Mutalik-Desai, Elphinstone College, BOMBAY 1.

65. Kum. A. Deshpande, J. N. Tata Parsi Girls Hish School, NAGPUR.
66. Kum. Devki Dhar, Lecturer in History, Govt. College for Women, SRINAGAR.
67. Dr. Kum. P. C. Dharma, F. 11, Lady, Staff Colony, Hindu University, VARANASI 5.
68. Dr. V. G. Dighe, Research Officer, The National Archives of India, JANPATH, New Delhi 2.
69. Dr. R. K. Dikshit, Dept. of History, Lucknow University, LUCKNOW.
70. Smt. Prem Kumari Dikshit, C/o Dr. R. K. Dikshit, Dept. of History, Lucknow University, LUCKNOW.
71. The Director of Archieves, Government of Bombay, Elphinstone College Building, BOMBAY 1.
72. Prof. R. P. Dua, 6488, Bagichi Ishwari. Prasad, Bara Hindu Rao, DELHI 6.
73. Kum. Anjali Dutt, 48, Akhil Mistri Lane, CALCUTTA 9.
74. Smt. Arunadevi Dutt, C/o Dr. K. N. Dutta, Editor for Revision of District Gazetteers in Assam, SHILLONG, Assam.
75. Dr. K. N. Dutt, Editor for Revision of District Gazetteers in Assam, SHILLONG, Assam.
76. Kum. Monju Dutt, 48, Akhil Mistri Lane, CALCUTTA 9.
77. Shri S. S. Dutt, Dharapara, CHANDERNAGORE, W. Bengal.
78. Kum. Malina Dutta, 7/77, Shahid Nagar, Dhakuria, CALCUTTA 31.
79. Shri Sudhir Kumar Dutta, Birbhat, Chandernagore, W. BENGAL.
80. Shri B. R. Easwaren, Muduliappapuram Street, Kollidai Kurichi, MADRAS.
81. Shri F. R. Fahmy, 19, Gwyer Hall, Delhi University, DELHI 8.
82. Mme. Y. Gaebelé, Présidente, Société de l'Histoire, PONDICHERY, South India.
83. Smt. Annapurna Ganguli, 2, Amiya Bhavan, Bauripara Lane, CHANDERNAGORE, W. Bengal.
84. Shri D. C. Ganguly, Victoria Memorial Hall, CALCUTTA 16.
85. Shri Joydev Ganguli, 10-B, Brindaban Basak Street, CALCUTTA 5.
86. Shri Kalyan Kumar Ganjuli, 7-K, Kankulia Road, CALCUTTA 19.
87. Kum. Pratima Ganguli, 2, Amiya Bhavan, Bauripara Lane, CHANDERNAGORE, W. Bengal.

88. Shri S. K. Ganguli, 2, Amiya Bhavan, Bauripara Lane, CHANDERNAGORE, W. Bengal.

89. Shri Salil Kumar Ganguli, Lecturer, St. Paul's College, CALCUTTA.

90. Shri Samil Kumar Ganguli, K. C. College, Hetampur, Birbhum, W. BENGAL.

91. Shri V. D. Ghate, 'Sushama', Deccan Gymkhana, POONA 4.

92. Dr. H. R. Ghosal, L. S. College, Muzaffarpur, BIHAR.

93. Dr. U. N. Ghosal, 85, Ramananda Chatterji Street, CALCUTTA 9.

94. Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose, 102-B, Harish Mukherji Road, CALCUTTA 25.

95. Shri Purnendranath Ghosh, 43-B, Palm Avenue, CALCUTTA 7.

96. Smt. Roma Ghosh, 'Raibatak,' P-75, Bank Plot, Dhakuria, CALCUTTA 31.

97. Shri Sudhir Ghosh, 'Raibatak', P-75 Bank Plot, DHAKURIA, CALCUTTA 31.

98. Shri Sudhansu Ranjan Ghosh, 5/C, Pallav Street, CALCUTTA 4.

99. Prof. R. D. Godbole, Ramnarain Ruia College, BOMBAY 19.

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New Salabhanjika fig. from Katri Keshavadeva, Mathura.

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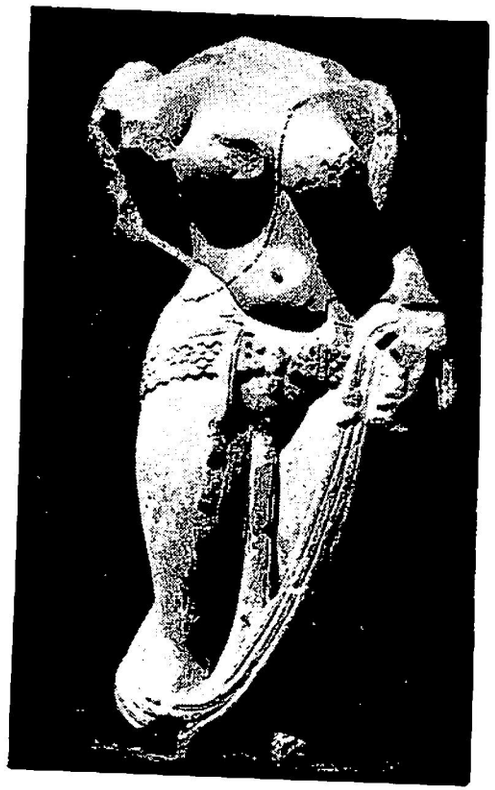

New Female torso from Mathura. Gupta period.
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Back of the new female torso.
See p. 186

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Memoir of the Codugu Survey

Vol I

By

Lieutenant Connor

D. N. Krishnappa
C. H. School
Mercara

D. N. Krishnappa

Mercara

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MEMOIR

OF THE

CODUGU SURVEY.

COMMONLY WRITTEN

KOORG.

PART I.

BY

LIEUTENANT CONNOR,

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INTRODUCTION.

The following Memoir it is hoped, will serve to illustrate in some measure, the leading particulars connected with the Map of Codugu and may, perhaps, be found to answer most of the questions that would suggest themselves, as to the situation, physical construction, surface, extent &c. of this little principality. In the Miscellaneous observations that are annexed, an attempt is made to convey some idea of its Government, population, resources, &c. The remarks made on those subjects may it is probable, be considered as unequal to the interest they excite, or the comparative importance attached to them, and the meagre notices given, would doubtless justify the objection, but, it is hoped, not countenance the conclusion, that such was attributable to carelessness or indifference; however ready I may be to acknowledge the imperfect, perhaps trifling nature of the information conveyed, I must deprecate the suspicion of its originating from such a cause. Indeed if apologies were necessary for the loose, and unconnected sketch I have ventured to give, there are not wanting circumstances, that might be offered in extenuation.

The Survey of Codugu having in every instance been conducted after the manner observed with regard to that of Soanda, no particular account of the method pursued in carrying it on will now be required.

The duties of the establishment, with reference to the above-mentioned district being completed on the 31st October 1815, it was placed under my directions and ordered to proceed to Codugu for the purpose of surveying that Principality. Some delay necessarily occurred in arranging for this undertaking; the Survey however, was finally completed on the 31st of October 1817, thus rendering the whole time consumed in its execution precisely two years, a period it is hoped that will not be deemed as having been protracted to a greater length than was consistent with due accuracy, and what was absolutely necessary, from the difficult nature of the country.

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MEMOIR

OF THE

CODUGU SURVEY.

Situation.

In speaking of the situation, aspect and physical construction of this territory, it may be desirable to describe it under two heads, first that of Codugu proper embracing in a general sense the whole of the country above the ghauts, and secondly, that consisting of the districts lying beneath this ridge, those combined portions forming the principality. Codugu proper is situated on the summit, though occupying but a small portion of that range of mountains which formed the boundary of ancient Kerala.* The western ghauts are here elevated about 5000 feet above the level of the sea, and covered everywhere with almost impervious woods, present to the westward a steep and precipitous surface, towards the east, however, they have a gentler declivity; Muddukayray the capital of this mountainous principality, lies 63¾ miles almost due west of Seringapatam (it being only 51" north of that place.) It is situated in the midst of the hills and is in latitude 12° 26' 20", longtitude 4° 30' 46." The possessions of this state above the ghants, stretch on the north and west, to the champaign country of Mysore, and on the south to the confines of the hilly district of Wynaad; that portion of the country lying below the ghauts, is of confined breadth, but extends at its most western point, to within a few miles of the sea, embracing within its limits a small portion of Malliallum and Tullava.† The extreme limits of the territory lie between 11° 55' 23" and 12° 49'

* Kerala the ancient name of the Western tract which comprises the modern countries of Malabar, Travancore and Canara. Konken is the northern extension of this low country.

† The Purswunnie river falling into the sea at Chandergerry formed the ancient boundary of those two provinces now known under the modern names of Malabar and Canara, the division between which is the Peyunguddy river whose stream separates the two Collectorates.

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33″ north latitude; and 4° 8′ 23″ and 5° 14′ 10″ longitude west from Madras observatory.

Boundaries.

Codugu is bounded on the north, partly by the talook of Buntwalla in Canara, and is separated from it by the Nettrawutti and Coomardarry rivers which for the extent of 34 miles constitute its frontier. On the eastern part of this northern boundary by the district of Bullum or Munzeerabad and is there partly defined by the Hemmawutty river. On the east by the talooks of Konoer, Arculgode and Bettadipoor of Mysore. The Cauvary for a considerable distance (near 20 miles) marking the division. On the S. E. by the Talook of Heggadevencotta; and on the south by the district of Wynaad, the line of demarcation passing over the summit of the Brumagerray hills. On the west it is bounded partly by the district of Tellicherry in the Province of North Malabar—the range of western ghauts separating the two countries for the space of nearly 65 miles, quitting them however, the line of division takes a direction towards the sea, when having approached the town of Coombla, it receds for a short distance, after which turning towards the north if forms a junction with the Nettrawutte river, at the north-western extremity of the country being bounded for the last 80 miles by the talook of Beakull belonging to North Canara.

Remarks on the boundary.

A momentary glance at the map of Codugu will shew the great irregularity of its figure; and the comparative smallness of its contents in proportion to the extent of its boundary it is encompassed on the west, south, and part of the north, by the British possessions which extend along its limits for 229½ miles (13 of which are occupied by Wynaad and the remainder by Canara and Mulliallum). The territory of Mysore runs along the eastern frontier for 139 miles thus making the whole perimeter equal to 368½ miles, an extent of boundary greatly disproportionate to its area. The upper country with the exception of Yailsewra talook is generally defined by natural limits. The ghauts on the south west, and the stupendous ridge of the Brumagerray mountains on the south, present the most distinct boundaries; quitting this chain, the eastern frontier is marked by an immense forest, except where the Cauvery forms the line of separation; approaching the northward, this woody belt gives place to the open

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slopes of Yailsowra, whose limits are defined by a factitious boundary.*

The Districts below the ghauts divided by so great a barrier from the country on their summit, naturally form a portion of Malabar and Canara which they nearly intersect, and to which indeed they formerly belonged; it will be seen that their limits with the exception of the northern line are quite artificial, the boundary being in scarcely any place defined by objects forming a natural barrier.†

Extent and area.

Codugu is of a very irregular outline; could its form be reducible to any determinate figure, it would be to that of a triangle having its apex at the extreme western point. Its length from north to south is 61 miles and from east to west 63½ miles—those dimensions however continue but for a very short space.

The original possessions of this principality were confined in all probability in the first instance, within the precints of the most hilly parts, the circumstances which led to an enlargement of those contracted limits, will be found detailed in the slight historical sketch that is given. It may however, be observed that Sooleeya was acquired by purchase; Umr was the gift of the Bednore Rajah to one of the Codugu Chiefs; Punjay and Bullaree were acquired from Hyder partly at the purchase of peace with those mountaineers, and partly as the compromise for certain violated engagements, and Yailsowra was obtained by conquest. Its extent was comprised within those limits till the year 1804 when the British Government, with its usual liberality, in consideration of the singular fidelity and eminent services of the late chief, ceded to him the talook of Poottoor, now forming one of the most valuable portions of the country. The present extent of this principality is doubtless greater than it ever could have been at any previous period; it comprises an area of

* The boundary is known with the greatest exactness and preserved with the utmost solicitude, a small path runs along it for nearly the whole circuit. Guards are placed at short intervals for the particular purpose of preventing intrusion.

† *Vide* detailed account of the boundary in the Appendix.

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2165½ square miles, of this space the lower districts occupy 580-2-24, those above the ghauts 1585-1-5½. Calculating however, from the immediate summits of the ghauts the division will be thus, above, 1266-1-14½ : below, 899-1-9. The accompanying table will be found to exhibit every information with regard to the area occupied by the interior divisions of the country.

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TABLE SHEWING the area of Codugu together with that of its interior Divisions

		Miles	Parts of a mile ¼	64ths
Yallsowra Talook	Coadley Hobely Naad ..	8	2	7¾
	Coodooloor do	13	3	6
	Hoolacode do	5	2	10½
	Bombullcor do	3	1	12
	Bulla do	13	1	9½
	Connagaul do	3	1	7½
	Hamegoad do	5	0	3½
	Doadhully Gowdhully do	7	3	8¾
	Nirrootoda do	5	1	2½
	Menesedda do	5	1	9½
	Mooloor do	7	2	4½
	Gunagoor do	12	1	4½
The twenty-three divisions or Naads which may particularly be denominated Codugu proper	Nunjarajputtun Naad	55	1	15½
	Yeddoor do	94	1	2
	Gudday do	48	2	12½
	OolagoolleeMoodagareedo	32	2	12
	Hoaroor Nooruckkul do	39	2	4¾
	Soorlaby Moothor do	65	0	11½
	Hahlayray Buddugayray do	29	0	3¾
	MuddukayrayHoroumullay do	20	0	3¾
	Pudy Naku Naad	142	1	1
	Kuddietthu do	51	1	10½
	Hoodoogayray Moondupum do	35	2	1½
	Bayngu Naad	42	0	13½
	Byru do (Yedday Naku Naad.)	41	1	11½
	Yedday do (Yedday Naku Naad.)	10	1	9½
	Hirroda do (Yedday Naku Naad.)	8	0	2
	Baithoalley do (Yedday Naku Naad.)	32	1	3¾
	Ammuthu Naad do	77	0	13
	Bayppu do	41	2	2¾
	Kodyengayray do	39	1	6¾
	Kuggoadloo do	40	0	4½
	Bettleth do	39	0	5
	Kaunthamoor do	14	1	12¾
	Thawa do	139	3	4

	Miles	Parts of a Mile ¼	64ths
Total of Yallsowra Talook	91	3	5½
Total of Codugu proper	1180	0	7

NOTE:—The insulated portion of the Company's territories coming within the Codugu limits is of course not included in the area of the Principality, this portion amounts to 8-3-15. This added to what has already been stated as the extent of Codugu will give 2174-3-6¾ square miles as the area of territory circumscribed by the Codugu boundary.

			Miles.	Parts of a Mile. ½	64th		Miles.	Parts of a Mile. ½	64th		Miles	Parts of a Mile. ½	64th.
Kiggutt Naad Talook.	Unjigayray	Naad ..	23	3	7½								
	Aurykayray	do ..	47	0	12½								
	Tawullugayray	do ..	54	2	7½								
	Koorchy Toru	do ..	55	3	0								
	Kirrigoor	do ..	12	1	0½	Total of							
	Hutthacuttu	do ..	53	3	4½	Kiggut Naad							
	Murray	do ..	65	2	16½	Talook	313	1	9				
Umr.	Kolumuggurra	Magunnie ..	43	3	11½								
	Kunderpaudee	do ..	33	2	12								
	Chokaudee	do ..	10	1	0½								
	Moghurrudhu	do ..	4	3	0	Tota							
	Yainakul Dawarholly	do ..	13	2	5	Umr.	106	1	5½				
Sooleay.	Bull Naad	Magunne .	21	0	3								
	Puduroanoor	do ..	28	1	9								
	Moodoonoor	do ..	18	3	6½								
	Iddurrukah	do ..	29	3	3½	Total of							
	Arranthode	do ..	33	3	10½	Sooleay.	170	2	0½				
	Uddoor	do ..	38	2	9								
Punjee Magunnie.	Sicily	Magunnie ..	2	1	1½								
	Amrakasupaudy	do ..	11	0	8½								
	Kuddubudda	do ..	6	2	6½								
	Buudady	do ..	2	3	3½								
	Old Punjee	do ..	22	0	1½	Total of Punjee.	48	3	10				
	Part of Soobramunni	do ..	4	0	3½								
Nettinukay Magunnie.	Saivurulluwutta	do ..	47	2	13½	Total of Nettinukay.	99	2	5½				
	Nettinukay	do ..	51	3	8½								
Pootoor Magunnie.	Bari Bellicor	Magunnie ..	12	2	3½								
	Pootoor	do ..	53	0	5	Total of Pootoor	71	0	9½				
	Neireymuggurra	do ..	5	2	1								
Bullaree Magunnie.	Old Bullaree	Magunnie ..	51	3	1½								
	Part of Old Puttoor	do ..	20	1	3½	Total of Bullaree	83	3	9½				
	Do Soobramuhni	do ..	11	3	5								

Total of the Sooleay Talook. 276-3-15½

Total of the Pootoor Talook. 303-2-24

Total area of Codugu above the Ghauts. 1535 1 5½

Total area of the lower Districts of Codugu. 580 2 2½

Total area of the Principality of Codugu. 2165 3 7½

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Capacity.

With so large a portion overgrown with forests extremly hilly, and a surface having everywhere such inequalities of level, as in no place to present any thing resembling a plain, the capabilties of this principality as it now offers itself to observation, would be concluded as more circumscribed than even its narrow limits would lead it to be supposed. The natural capacity of the country however is very great, and only requires a more enlarged population to call it forth; forests of a gigantic growth and everywhere a vigorous and florid vegetation, indicate fully its productive powers, and the general figure of the hills, covered with a rich and deep earth, render them almost everywhere capable of being cultivated; they have room and soil sufficient for maturing vegetable productions, and promise fully to repay the labor and expense of husbandry, while its fertile valleys yield in the same extent of surface in the proportion of more than double the quantity of the neighbouring districts. Water, so necessary for all the purposes of agriculture, is obtained in abundance, the nature of the country ensuring it a profuse supply, such a character is however, only immediately applicable to Codugu proper; Yailsowra and Nunjarajputtun have all the aridity of the open plains of Mysore and something of their comparative sterility.

In the districts below the ghauts, the soil of the cultivated lands is more superficial and less productive, and of that of the upper grounds is almost barren, a large portion consisting of all the indurated stone, common throughout the western coast; where more favorable they are covered by but a thin stratum of clay; the valleys in part of those districts however are tolerably fertile, and throughout Sooleeay and Punjee are adapted to the cultivation of the Areca tree; steep, narrow, sheltered alike from the extremes of heat and cold, and always retaining a considerable moisture, they possess all the necessaries requisite for the success of those valuable plantations.

Estimate of the hilly and plain cultivated and uncultivated lands.

A reference to the accompanying table will convey a tolerable correct idea of the quantity of land under cultivation in each particular district.

TABLE shewing generally the proportion of cultivated lands.

		Cultivated. Square miles.	Cultivated. Parts of a mile. 10ths	Uncultivated. Square miles.	Uncultivated. Parts of a mile. 16ths	REMARKS.
Codugu proper.	Yailsowra Talook	14	6¾			This table has been obtained by the measurement on the plan of the space represented cultivated and may be considered as near the truth as such a mode is capable of. A reference to the table exhibiting the area of the interior divisions will enable the portion cultivated in each immediately to be ascertained. The total as here given shews the country under cultivation to be in proportion of about one 11-56-100ths of the whole country.
	Nunjarajputtun Naad.	1	4			
	Yeddoor do.	7	7½			
	Gudday do.	3	14½			
	Oolagoolee Moodagayray do.	2	8¾			
	Hoaroor Nooruckkul do.	2	14¼			
	Soorlaby Moothoo do.	1	4¾			
	Hablayray Buddugayray do.	1	10			
	Muddukayray Horomullay do.	1	10			
	Paudy Naku do.	8	4¼	0	6¼	
	Kuddieth do.	5	5½	1	5	
	Hoodoogayray Moondupum do.	3	2¾			
	Bayngu Naad do.	4	5			
	Byru do. (Yedday naku Naad.)	3	0¾	0	14¾	
	Yedday do. (Yedday naku Naad.)	2	11¼	0	0	
	Hirrooa do. (Yedday naku Naad.)	2	1¼	0	2¼	
	Baithoolley do. (Yedday naku Naad.)	1	8½	0	11¼	
	Ammuttha do.	7	11	2	14¼	
	Bayppu do.	6	9¾	1	8½	
	Hooyeangayray do.	5	13¼			
	Keygoadloo do.	3	6			
	Bettieth do.	6	8½	4	9¾	
	Kaunthamoor. do.	2	8¼			
	Thawa do.	5	2¾			
	Total.....	90	13	12	9	
	Kiggutt Naad Talook	15	6½	22	11¼	
	Umr	7	5½			
	*Sooleeay	14	1¼			
	Total of Umr Sooleeay.....	21	6¾			
	Punjee	6	4½			
	Bullaree	13	7½			
	Poottoor	11	0½			
	Nettinukay	14	13			
	Sum Total.....	187	10½	35	4¼	

* This includes whatever portion may be under Areca plantation.

It will be seen from the preceeding that, on a general average, not more than one 11½ of the whole area is rendered subservient to the wants of man; this very limited proportion is in a great measure accounted for by the rugged nature of the country, the space capable of cultivation could however be still greatly enlarged, as a very great share of that extent, now covered with forest in point of level and soil is calculated for it, and at the lowest calculation ⅓ of the whole is fit for the plough, this of course will be understood as referring to the cultivation of dry grains, that of rice is capable of being increased, but, in a much smaller degree—the extent of waste land is only great in the Kiggutt Naad talook, and but only a portion of it is capable of cultivation.*

It has already been said that, throughout the whole country there is no space, however small, sufficiently level to be characterized as a plain. Indeed Codugu is one series of hills, varying only in point of elevation, it will not be necessary to particularize the area of each range; the fall of the ghauts alone may deserve a specific mention, calculating from their summits till they melt into the lower hills of the districts situated at their foot, the declivity of that portion of the ghauts coming within thisterritory,occupiesa space of 2613 3-5th square miles, the whole of which is a steep precepitous descent clothed with a majestic forest.

Like the hills, wood is too much the character of this country to require a statement of the area that may be particularly occupied by it, indeed there are but few places that can be called at all open. Yailsowra is the only exception.

Reference to the surrounding countries.

Encompassed by the possessions of the British and those of Mysore, the countries surrounding Codugu are too well known, to require here anything but a brief mention as to the reference and connection which they may bear to it. Codugu broken by hills, covered with woods, having but indifferent roads, and no large towns, holds out but few temptations to an extensive intercourse with its neighbours, the

* Much of the space represented as waste may at one time have been cultivated; but from long disuse, has degenerated into swamps which cannot be rendered arable.

superior advantages it enjoys for the production of rice renders it however in some measure the granary of the countries in its vicinity. The fertility of the soil, and the habits of the people enable them fully to administer to the wants of their neighbours in this particular.

The geographic position of this principality renders it an object of importance in a military point of view, whether considered as bordering on the confines of Mysore and in the immediate vicinity of the capital of that state, or regarded with reference to that part of Malabar and Canara, which it approaches in point of locality.

Aspect.

The aspect of Codugu presents an entire forest, the long and narrow cultivated valleys enchased within it, serves but to render those vast woods more striking; the whole of the eastern boundary presents a remarkable geographic line of demarcation, exhibiting an almost uninterrupted: and impervious wood from the Burmagerray hills, till to reaching the Cauvery; this space is wholly uninhabited: advancing westwards the woods decrease in density as the country improves in cultivation, and becomes gradually thinner till reaching the western ghauts, the immediate summits of which, partially bare of wood, are clothed with a luxuriant herbage. South from Veerajenderpett, those jungles become less impenetrable, and the whole of Kiggutt Naad(with the exception of the eastern boundary) including the Burmagerry Hills is comparatively open, at least when contrasted with the deep forests of the contiguous district. Approaching towards the north, the thick umbrageous woods of the central parts give way to the date, sandal, and other trees, and shrubs of a more meagre soil, leaving Yailsowra an almost perfectly champaign tract.

But a small portion of the summits of the ghauts is free from jungle; their western face presents a continued forest of immense stature partially subsiding at some distance from their base. Wood however is the unvaried feature of these regions. The lower districts of Umr and Sooleeay are overgrown with it, quitting them however and advancing towards the sea it gradually decreases, Bullaree and Pungee being generally clad with a more thin and scanty garb, still further, approaching westward it entirely gives way to the cultivated valleys and barren rocky slopes of the greater part of Poottoor.

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Mountains. The western ghauts, running nearly from north to south, divides this Territory into two unequal portions differing in many essential particulars; the general configuration of both however is abrupt and broken, the most prominent ridge of mountains, as to height and extent, is that forming the summits of the ghauts. This chain is unequal in its elevation, and somewhat irregular in its direction, having a large curvature immediately at the head of the Thorikahna ghaut, the ridge however experiences but little interruption in the course of 50 miles, running from Subramuhni on the north to the Brumagerry hills on the south; towards the west it falls with great steepness, the descent from the summit to the foot being generally from 2½ to 3 miles, the first part of which is particularly rapid; to the east this chain has in many places a precipitous descent, and is generally steep, the declivity extending however, but for a comparatively short distance, its length bearing no comparison with that of the western face; innumerable ridges branch off from this range, but all dimunitive in proportion to the parent from which they spring, they decrease in height as they recede from this ridge, but have everywhere narrow summits, and steep declivities. Todiandamaèl, situated 13½ miles almost directly west of the Pettah, detaches itself in a picturesque manner from this collossal range, and raises its pointed summit above all others; this beautiful hill the most elevated in this part of the ghauts, can only be viewed with effect at some distance beneath its base, its measurement is 5682 feet above the level of the sea, Soobramuhni part of the same ridge, and situated on the northern confines of Codugu, and partly separating it from Mysore, has nearly similar claims to pre-eminence, it being only 99 feet lower; the height of these two points will convey some idea of the elevation of this chain, which on an average is in scarcely any place more than from 4 to 800 feet below them.

The Brumagerry range of hills, running in a direction from east to west, and situated on the southern limits, constituting a formidable natural barrier between Codugu and Wynaad is the next in importance; its general height may be about 4500 feet above the level of the sea, it consists of a table land from the elevated plain of which detached summits rise. Davashi betta is the highest of those, being only however from 100 to 150 feet more elevated

than the other peaks. The northern face of this range has a steeper ascent and of greater length than that looking towards the southward, giving to Wynaad the appearance of having a higher general level then Codugu. Davashi betta is a place of pious celebrity and has been the residence of Suneeashees for time immemorial; numerous devotees resort to the small spring at its foot from which issues the Letchmun Tirut, and a journey to Davashi betta is supposed to add efficacy to this pilgrimage.

Of the minor ridges, that supporting the table land upon which Muddukayray lies is the most conspicuous. Noorkull naad rising on the south eastern extremity of this chain is the highest point of it, those ranges branching off from the stupendous mountain of Soobramuhni are next in consideration, running from that hill they pass a long northern boundary for a considerable distance and are high and steep.

Numberless insulated hills giving way to steep slopes chequer the surface of the country; of those, Cotay Bitta is the most remarkable, this immense mountain lies 9 miles nearly north of Muddukayray its elevation is not greatly below that of the range of ghauts, and its base occupies an immense extent of country, the summit of this hill is comparatively flat forming a kind of waving table land, its sides alone are clothed with forest, and innumerable cultivated valleys occupy the recesses in them; almost immediately on the top of Cotay Betta there is a fine reservoir of water which, in every season retains a constant supply, close to it is a rude temple dedicated to some of the numerous deities that share the homage of those mountains. Maullimby Peak lying on the confines of Yailsowra and Yeddoa naad is the next in point of elevation it is however more remarkable for the beauty of its figure which represents an exact cone, than for its height. Other detached hills and ridges, tho' numerous are not deserving of any particular notice. The hill close to Veerajenderpett and Moogoatgayray betta are the most remarkable; they are both steep, but low, the latter presents a precipitous rocky acclivity towards the west; there is a small Pagoda on its top; some few detached ranges are situated along the eastern boundary not however remarkable for either elevation, or extent; amongst them Seedaswar and Mawcull are the

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most prominent, the former guards the pass, or rather woody defile that gives entrance to Codugu, and attracts attention, as being for some years the place of retreat of the adventurous chiefs of those wild regions. A Pagoda dedicated to Siva occupies the top of this hill

Of the mountains below the ghauts, the immense ridges connected with, and branching from them, form the principal ones. In the lower districts those chains descend with great steepness leaving a large space along the foot of the ghauts, one unvaried extent of precipitous hills, and impenetrable woods. The range lying on the southern boundary stretching from Tulla Cauvery to Purruthuddy betta is the most remarkable, presenting an uninterrupted ridge for the whole distance, having numerous minor branches running from it; of the few detached hills Buntamale, Kunneeyar Goota and Bulla naad are the most conspicuous, the former is the highest; they are however all comparatively low but very steep.

General observations as to the superficies and configuration.

From the above enumeration of the most prominent mountains, the general character of the superficies, and configuration of the country will be inferred; covered with chains of hills of equally various elevation as direction, its aspect is greatly diversified; but its general, and almost invariable features are ruggedness. The whole of the western portion of the upper country lying in the vicinity of the range of ghauts is abrupt, and mountainous: quitting this Alpine tract, and approaching the eastward, the various ramifications of those hills, loose themselves in the steep low ridges which insensibly subside in the undulating slopes of the most eastern parts, the aspect of Yailsowra is of this waving nature, and though not immediately flat, has a much larger portion of plain than any other part of the country. Descending the ghauts, whose mountainous wall gives the upper country the appearance of an immense terrace; we find the superficies of the lower districts equally marked by those rugged asperities, that distinguish the more elevated tract; quitting those lofty ridges that descend from the range of ghauts, the higher acclivities give way to eminences of lesser magnitude which gradually sink into steep but low slopes infinitely varied as to shape, and extent, those again are lost in the gentle un-

dulating rocky table of which the more western parts are formed.

The rough and uneven surface of the country is everywhere diversified by narrow and steep valleys, which are occupied by the arable lands, this situation being the only one calculated for the cultivation of rice. The breadth of those valleys, varies in proportion to the steepness of the country, they rarely however exceed half a mile, and in the more hilly parts, frequently are not more than a fourth of that distance; winding along the bases of the eminences that border them, they run for considerable distances, occupying the narrow clifts of all the high grounds affording sufficient water for the purposes of irrigation; the narrow valleys are cut away to increase the extent, and if favorable are formed into terraces for the purpose of further enlarging the space capable of being cultivated.

Divisions and their Boundaries.

The general principle upon which the country of Codugu is divided, differs but in few particulars, some of the terms excepted, from the other mountainous countries occupying the summits of the western ghauts, and those situated below this range of hills. The talook of Yailsowra and the small district of Nunjarajputtun form an exception to this observation, resembling both in superficies and productions the open country of Mysore, their divisions are arranged after the manner common to those of that country.

The accompanying map, exhibits every particular regarding the internal divisions of Codugu, it will not here therefore be requisite to state their relative position with regard to each other, as a slight inspection of the sketch here offered, will convey every desirable information on this subject, and the table given in page 5 will be found to solve every question, that could arise as to their superficial extent; a few brief observations however may perhaps illustrate both.

Codugu, was divided into five talooks under the late Rajah. Yailsowra on the north, Kiggutt naad on the south, the centre space which may more particularly be called Codugu proper, being under the immediate control of the Dewan Cutcherrie at Muddukayray. The districts below the ghauts are partitioned into two talooks that of Sooleeay and Poottoor.

Those larger divisions formed for the purpose of civil administration have at different periods been modified or altered, as caprice or convenience may have dictated, the smaller component parts which form them, are the ancient partitions of the country.

A talook consists of any indefinite number of naads, this being the next smallest territorial division, it is again subdivided into gramas, and those into magunies, * which are still further separated into wurgas, this last name denoting the fields or estate of the husbandman or occupant.

The term naad pronounced sometimes *narrh*, is general throughout the more southern parts of this range of ghauts, and much used in Malabar, but scarcely known towards the northward of Codugu; this denomination means district generally, but sometimes country (as Wynaad &c.) the divisions of the talooks of the lower country are arranged exactly after a similar manner with those just mentioned, their denominations however having some difference, the term magunnie being substituted for that of naad, which it resembles in every other particular.

The lesser divisions of Yailsowra are denominated hobelys, this is similar but generally smaller than the magunnie and naad;

* It will be perceived that the two smaller divisions here mentioned, are not inserted on the map, or registered in the list of villages, anxious to obtain those particulars, frequent applications were made for them but without success, the native authorities evincing the most unaccountable solicitude to conceal them. Indeed, however strange it may appear, it required the utmost exertion to obtain the list now given. On the first commencement of the work every attempt was made to mislead the Surveyors in this particular and nothing but the most distinct assurances that such a proceding must necessarily put an immediate stop to the undertaking could produce an alteration in the conduct that had been observed. After a considerable period of delay and prevarication, a register of the whole of the villages and other divisions was at length procured from the Cutcherrie, the omission of the smaller names being pointed out, was met by the assurance (so entirely unfounded, that those using it must have been quite indifferent as to the expectation of belief) that the list which had been furnished contained every particular that could be given, and such precautions were taken, that it was impossible to learn those names which were withheld, as the Inhabitants had particular instructions not to inform the Surveyors.

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Nunjarajputtun has no intermediate subdivision, it consisting merely of the naad and its gramas.

The divisions of Poottoor it may be perceived, are rather intricate, this arises from the circumstance of their having undergone some alterations subsequent to the transfer,* the small magunnies noted as forming the four large ones which compose the talook are some of the ancient divisions which though now recognized by the people, are not used in the administration of the country.

The magunnie of Soobramuhni exists in a very detached shape this orignates in the villages forming it, having at one period being held in Inam by the celebrated Pagoda of that name.

In the districts below the ghauts, it will be observed that an insulated portion of the Company's territory is included within the Codugu boundary, this consists of some estates which though within the limits of the country transferred by the Company in 1804, were specially stated as forming no part of that which had been ceded; particular reasons doubtless must have influenced this arrangement, no information however has been acquired, as to the exact motives that caused the disposition thus made; there are a few other places, sometimes only fields, coming within the Codugu limits; no inconvenience however has been found to result from this intermixture of country.

The boundaries of the interior subdivisions are mostly arbitrary and facticious, in many instances however it will be seen that they occasionally follow the course of the large streams and ridges, but as a general remark, they have but little reference to natural limits.

No system of territorial partition could be simpler or more complete, it presenting a regular series of subordination requiring nothing to perfect it, there is however a great irregularity in the areas of the different divisions, but we are not in possession of the motives that guided the partition of the country into those several parts, it is diffi-

* The portion of country ceded by the British Government to the Codugu Prince in 1804 was severed from the Canara collectorate.

cult to say, nor perhaps is it materially necessary to know, what cause may be assigned for this disproportion in the superficial extent of the various divisions.

Principal places, cusbas, market towns, &c.

In Codugu proper there can scarcely be said to be any large towns, the population is extremely scattered, the inhabitants living on the borders of the cultivated valleys, and universally in insulated dwellings distant from each other in proportion as the situation of their fields will conveniently admit of; and separated on an average little less than half or quarter of a mile asunder, the larger divisions have not in most instances a principal village, each naad however in every case has a cutcherrie the residence of the Shanaboge (or native Reveuue Officer) where the business of it is transacted.

Coadlypett.

The chief places in Yailsowra are Coadlypett and Sunnywarsuntay, the former of those is the capital, it is situated in the northern part, and in the hobly to which it gives its name, in this town is a cutcherrie, the residence of the Chief Officers of the district, it contains about 60 houses, and is a market place of some eminence, the fair held here on every Sunday being numerously attended ; it is also the seat of some little trade, the rice of the interior being here exchanged for the dry grains and cloths of Mysore &c., this traffic is principally in the hands of a few Sivabuctar merchants.

Sunnywarsuntay.

Sunnywarsuntay as the name implies, is the place where Saturday's market is held, it is in Bulla hobely, and situated immediately in the large road which crosses this narrow neck of land, it consists of but a few huts and a cutcherie for the purpose of collecting the sayer duties, which from the local circumstances of the road are very considerable ; the market is a place of great resort, its central situation rendering it particularly well adapted for the purposes of traffic.

Ramapoora or Ramasamy cunnawey.

The next place of consideration is Ramapoora or as its more generally called Ramasamy cunnawey, this is situated on the bank of the Cauvery in the southern part of Nunjarajputtun naad—there is no

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town here, it consisting of a few wretched scattered huts not deserving that appellation; this is the station of the cutcherie of the District, and is a market place of considerable importance, the fair occurs on a Wednesday, and generally attracts a large concourse of people; bordering the confines of both countries, and on a principal road it engrosses all the trade of the adjoining parts, this being the principal place from which the rice of the neighbouring districts is exported.

Soamwarpett. Soamwarpett is the next town that claims attention; a market is held here on Monday, it is well supplied and numerously frequented, the place itself however though dignified by the appellation of petta is of but little consequence consisting of only about 30 indifferent houses.

Muddukayray. Muddukayray the capital of this mountainous principality, is situated in the midst of the hills and somewhat in a central position, it seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access; and this feeling appears common to most Indian Highland Chiefs, as they are found invarially to fix on (as if to render security more secure) the deepest recesses of their Alpine retreats for a place of residence; Muddukayray we are informed was fixed on as the seat of Government by Doda Veerappa one of the early princes of Codugu; lying on the top of an elevated table it is nearly the highest inhabited land in the principality; its local position is extremely picturesque and beautiful, surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills; it is situated in the small basin at their foot, and sheltered in some measure by them from the violence of the winds, to which its elevated site would expose it.

The town of Muddukayray is small and insignificant, it consists of a petta lying a short distance east of the fort, running in a long, and rather straggling line, which scarcely allows it the merit of regularity, some scattered houses, lie immediately close to the fort, the whole however, in both places, not amounting to more than 300; most of them of a wretched appearance, and few with the exterior of comfort, or cleanliness; The seat of no trade, or manufacture it owes its importance entirely to being the residence of the chief, and indeed, is principally inhabited by those belonging

immediately to his personal establishment. A market is held here every Friday, it is most abundantly supplied, and attracts a very large concourse of people, most of whom however belong to the country.

Veerajenderpett. Veerajenderpett is the largest, and it may be said the only town in Codugu, it is situated in the southern parts 16 miles S. E. of Muddukayray, and immediately on the communication between the Western coast and Mysore ; though a place of the greatest consequence in the country, it is of recent birth having been founded by the late Rajah about 25 years since.* Its first population consisted of those, whom he had in his predatory excursions swept away from Mysore; but principally of the inhabitants of Periapatam, who fled here for protection when that place was destroyed by the Sultan to prevent its falling into the hands of the British.

Veerajenderpett is a large straggling town containing about 500 houses, upwards of 200 of which belong to christains; they are however, almost all of a mean appearance, and although the whole permanent trade of the country is centered here, there are but few symptoms of either affluence, or growing prosperity: having no manufactures, its chief support must be in traffic, for this, its situation is particularly advantagous, fitting it in a great measure for being, a staple between Mysore and the Western coast, at present however it has not attained this desirable perogative; it is notwithstanding a mart of some consequence, and the fair which takes place here, every Friday, is the largest of the periodical markets held in the country ; all the produce of the southern parts is brought here for sale, also that of the districts in its vicinity, it being the principal place from which they are exported, the neighbouring inhabitants of Mysore resort here in great number. Rice is the chief article which they take away with them.

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* It was established by Veerajender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between General Abercromby and himself during the war with Tippoo some time in the year 1792.

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Bágamundala. Bágamundala is the principal place of Thawunaad, it is situated at the junction of the Cauvery and Kunnikay streams but owes its celebrity more to the Pagoda there than its size or trade, it consisting only of a few scattered houses.

Kiggutt naad. There is no town of any description in Kiggutt naad through which even the smaller villages are but thinly scattered. The cutcherie which is considered the chief place is in Ungigayray naad; the principal authorities of the district live at it.

Palaces. Besides Muddukayray there are three other Arrahmuhni, or palaces, the most remarkable is Naku naad, it was built by the late chief, and is now occupied by some branches of his family; the next is Gurrawully in Gudday naad where reside the descendants of the second brother; and lastly Hahlayray in the naad of that name. This was the residence of the present chief before his accession to power; the three palaces just mentioned are not remarkable either for extent, or elegance; the first is the largest, it is fortified after the native fashion by a strong wall with small round bastions at the angles; the circumference of this fortification is exceedingly limited, it is however surrounded by a very deep ditch, and high embankment, leaving a small open space between the inner walls, and this outer work; the approaches to it are guarded by various barriers, thus, making the whole comparatively strong; the other two have but little remarkable about them, they are after the plan of all other native houses, but well built upon a very large scale, and encompassed by breastworks, and the road leading to them secured by barriers. The lands in the immediate vicinity of those palaces are estates severally belonging to them.

Remarkable places below the ghauts. There are no other places worthy of notice above the ghauts, and below them there are but few of any consequence, indeed, none in Sooleay. Bullaree the capital of the magunnie of that name may deserve mention, as being a place of some small trade, the cutcherie here is the seat of the principal authorities of the district. Bedderholay, Neirrenuggurra, and Kullukah situated on the great road proceeding to Mangalore are each small towns consisting of, from 15 to 20

OBSERVATIONS.

The Fort of Muddukayray, it will be seen is nearly encompassed by Hills almost all of which overlook it, but particularly those on the South from whose summits the whole interior is visible, a reference to the scale will shew what facilities those possessions afford if an attack were mediated, the points marked A. B. & C. are remarkably well situated in this particular, especially the former, the occupation of which must go far to ensure that of the fortification itself.

Muddukayray is in Latitude 12-26-20, Longitude from Madras Observatory 4-30-46. It is situated 63¾ Miles, almost directly West from Seringapatam, the route from the Presidency, of Mysore to Muddakayray gives distance of 99-3 Miles, the first 50-1 of which pass thro' the former Country.

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houses and in them centre the little traffic carried on in those parts.

Poottoor. Poottoor though the chief place of the talook has no petta, and is only remarkable for a large Pagoda, and being that where the principal cutcherie is stationed; Uddoor the capital magunnie of that name is situated exactly under similar circumstances.

The enumeration that has just been given, contains all those places that deserve any particular mention, it will not be necessary to state any further here the different places where cutcherries are situated.

The Table of Division and villages &c. shewing all information of this nature, and as it has been already observed, that, there are no particular cusbas to each of the minor districts, it will be understood that those offices are the chief places of them.

Forts Droogs &c. The rugged aspect of the country fully answers all those purposes for which regular fortifications are designed, strong in its numerous fastnesses, it is almost everywhere fortified by nature, each hill, offers a new post, and thick woods present, a place at once for concealment and defence, thus guarded, it requires but little art to increase the obstacles which naturally oppose themselves, this has been done to an extent, that speaks forcibly the attachment of those mountaineers to their native wilds.

Fort of Muddukayray. Though for a long time the chief place in Codugu there was no fortification till the reign of the Sultan who erected the present one.

As a military post Muddukayray owes its strength entirely to its situation, the elevated table upon which it stands once surmounted, all difficulties may be considered as overcome, encompassed by a circle of hills the approach is everywhere difficult, it is shut in by 4 gates each commanding the heads of the only passes that give access to it*, those ghauts are generally steep and broken, and

* *Vide* series of Routes.

the approach to them naturally rugged, can be otherwise variously obstructed; strong from their position, occupied by a small number of men, and defended with any ordinary share of resolution, they could not be forced without considerable loss to the assailants. The south ghaut is comparatively short being little more then half a mile, the road is very steep, but good, and partially free from forests; the ascent of those on the east and west is considerably longer, and more rugged, and both are enveloped in thick woods; that on the north is much the best pass, both as to length and ascent, indeed, the extent and acclivity of it is comparatively trifling, the entrance to those passes is flanked by a deep ditch, the gates however at the head of each are weak, and could be readily forced, none of them could resist a petard.

Tippoo, as has already been said, built the present fort of Muddukayray, doubtless for the purpose of securing more effectually his conquests, and agreeably to his system of nomenclature, he set aside the Hindoo name, substituting in its place the Moslem appellation of Zufferabad; he displayed but an indifferent judgement in fixing on the site of the fort, as it is completely commanded on the west, the small hills in that direction quite overlooking it. It is situated on the summit of a low top, and has a rather steep acclivity for about half its circumference, the remaining part, that is, the north and west has a gentle ascent, and on this account must be deemed the weakest. The figure of the fort is irregular, and its walls in few instances conform to the scarp of the hill. The ramparts (on which no guns are mounted) are about 8 feet thick and nearly 20 high, the parapets however are only about one fourth that breadth, the whole is strongly built of stone and mortar, it is surrounded by a ditch which in point of breadth and depth, is not of sufficient magnitude to offer any material impediment, there is a very large space between the foot of the wall, and its scarp nearly 30 feet; the entrance is on the south, and like most native fortifications it is intricate, and circuitous, close to it and immediately under the walls are some of the Public Offices, they are built upon an elevated platform (surrounded by a slight parapet) to which a neat ornamental gate gives access, those buildings (in a military point of view) greatly encumber the entrance of the fort, and materially increase the faci-

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lities of its capture the whole is in excellent order and preserved with much care. Its regular garrison consists of 300 Codugus, who are relieved agreeable to the ordinary routine at the expiration of every 15 days. The interior space is occupied entirely by the Palace, and the offices belonging to it. It is inhabited alone by the Rajah and his suite, indeed the whole may merit the designation of a fortified castle more perhaps than a fortress.

* From the above description it will be seen that this fort is evidently, but little calculated for defence. Capable of containing but a small number of men; constructed without art, and so completely commanded by the hills in its neighbourhood, it could make no resistance against bombs, or even canon of a small calibre; the nature of the ground would leave a choice in conducting the attack, and indeed, there would scarcely appear to be much necessity for those preparations, as it seems quite capable of being taken by a *coup-de-main*. A well directed escalade (the assailants having shelter in most places till reaching the foot of the walls) could not fail of being attended with complete success.

With the exception of Muddukayray there is no regular fortification of any kind in the country; the hilly nature however of it presents innumerable places, that could be readily rendered defensible, and which might easily be concealed amidst those almost impenetrable abodes. All native chiefs are fond of having some stronghold to which they might retire in the last extremity, and though there is every reason to believe, no such now exists here, the country in the vicinity of the ghauts offers numerous points, where a retreat of this nature could be easily formed.

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* A disinclination to increase the feelings of suspicion which were evidently entertained by the Rajah, prevented a survey of the Fort being taken after the manner that could be desired—that is on a very large scale, and by absolute measurement with the chain—such a proceeding however, would have produced considerable uneasiness, nor would the attainment of this object be accompanied by any adequate advantage; it was therefore considered prudent to waive any measurement of this nature. The accompanying plan however exhibits a survey of the Fort, and the surrounding country. It is done after the usual manner and on an enlarged scale, this sketch together with the description given, it is hoped will convey every desirable information on the subject.

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Cuddungs or Breast works.

The breast works here called cuddungs which are seen in almost every part of the upper country, afford a singular instance of the indefatigable perseverance, with which those highlanders toiled to secure the possession of their hills, those monuments of their exertions are said to be of ancient date, and the large forest with which they are mostly overgrown, would entitle us to come to such a conclusion, the great distances to which they stretch, the steep acclivites they ascend, and the high ridges they surmount, cannot fail to impress a feeling of wonder, at the immense labor, that must have been required in the formation of them, those lines presenting a similar front almost always looking towards the surrounding countries, the exact conformity of their construction, and the solidity with which they have been made, their situation, running along the crests of the hills in the more mountainous parts, and in the comparatively flat country towards the eastern borders in most cases flanking the roads, all combined to impress a conviction that they have been formed as it evidently would appear for the purposes of defence. Such doubtless has been their general destination. The change of manners and habits leaves us in obscurity as to particulars. No immediate connection as a whole can be traced; as they pass along the tops of ridges or over slopes for considerable distances, never assuming any distinct figure, but always conforming themselves to the inequalities of the ground and terminate abruptly in the woods; it may however be generally observed that they occupy the most exposed places, the forest being in itself considered a sufficient defence, they are frequently seen in small insulated portions, for which it is not easy to account. It will be seen that they are uncommonly numerous on the road to Bagamundla from Mudukkayray, the necessity of so many defies conjecture, they may however suggest the question, whether they owe their rise to intestine feuds or foreign wars. A portion of those defences have resisted the effects of time being still in tolerable repair, and from what is left, some idea of the original design may be formed; as Military works however they are nearly useless, their great length rendering it impossible to defend their whole extent.

The situation and course of the principal cuddungs have been marked on the map, innumerable others are everywhere to be met

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with but are now too imperfect to be traced.

Defences of the Roads

The care taken to secure the passage of the great roads, and even to barricade the smaller paths, adds another proof of the solicitude with which the Codugus guard all approaches to their mountains; similar apprehensions suggest in most instances the same precautions. All mountainous Rajahs are remarkable for rendering the access to their possessions as difficult as possible, it appears a part of the policy of the authorities here, to limit the greater communications to as small a number as is at all practicable, and to impede the few there are, by innumerable barriers. Many of the roads are studiously lengthened, that for instance leading from Mysore to Mudukayray is remarkable for the unnecessary circuity of its route, all are narrow and rugged and difficult, the breast works that intersect them are formed of a deep ditch, and high bank; a reference to the routes will shew, the number and situation of those stockades, and exhibit in minute detail the general character of the communications with, and through the country, as also the various obstacles that are to be encountered on them.

Villages and Towns

There can scarcely be said to be any towns in Codugu.

Unlike the open country, the villages of Codugu (with the exception of Yailsowra and Nunjarajputtun) consists of detached habitations extending along the narrow valleys that wind at the foot of the high grounds, and an indefinite number of those cultivated glens have the collective designation of grama, which may be translated canton or township to which it has a considerable resemblance; this is divided into several minute portions termed mouzas, muzeras &c., which are considered dependencies of it; the lands belonging to the grama, are marked by a well defined boundary. In Yailsowra and Nunjarajputtun the villages are arranged on a different system, being in those districts in a more collected form, their arable grounds lying immediately contiguous to them.

It will not be required here to describe the internal economy of the village administration, the arrangement common throughout

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the western coast appears equally to prevail on the whole of that mountainous tract, occupying the immediate summits of the ghauts, such at least is the case throughout Codugu; the number and occupution of the officers belonging to the village establishment, differing in no particular, and the same admirable system as to the government of the little community can be traced in every instance. The accompanying Register will be found to contain a list of all the interior divisions of the country, also of the villages belonging to them, exhibiting at the same time the actual position of each from the nearest Trignometrical station.*

Waters &c.

Codugu enjoys all the abundance of water consequent to a hilly, and well wooded country. The rich garb of forests which clothes almost its whole surface, retains a humidity that produces a luxuriant form of trees, and herbaceous plants, which brings to recollection the florid vegetation of more temperate climates. It is every where furrowed with rivulets, and traversed with numerous smaller streams branching from them, those generally have a constant supply of water, the more hilly parts are highly salubrious, and water for irrigation, or domestic purposes is generally plentifully afforded. Wells are uncommon, nor indeed are they at all necessary. Yailsowra and the flatter parts of the eastern boundary are not so happily situated in this particular, but neither are remarkable for any striking deficiency.

The lower country is also furnished profusely with this important element; springs descending from the higher grounds diffuse a freshness and vegetation, in all the numerous little valleys through which they shape their course, those parts in which the arreca plantations are numerous, enjoy an abundant share of this necessary article, indeed, there is sufficient for the irrigation necessary for a second crop in every part of the lower districts, and occasionally enough to mature a third; it is however only the deep narrow glens occupied by the arable lands, that are thus favored, the high grounds with the exception of the woody parts of Sooleeay bordering the foot of the ghauts are for the greatest part of the year parched, arid, and quite

* *Vide* appendix No. 1.

devoid of vegetation. The whole of Poottoor presenting one extent of naked rock on which are seen only a few verdant shrubs to vary its painful uniformity; the rainy season, being the only period in which the elevated lands throughout those parts, assume a more verdant appearance.

Rivers &c.

The waters of Codugu divided by the ridge of ghauts fall into the sea washing both coasts of the Peninsula, those of the upper country flowing into the Bay of Bengal, while those of the lower districts, are lost in the Indian Ocean.

It may generally be observed that none of the rivers of Codugu are considerable, either as to breadth, or depth; their supply of water however is everywhere generally abundant and constant, their sources lying so elevated, added to the steep declivity of the country, impels their streams with a rather rapid course, they are with the exception of the Coomardarray not navigable, and almost wholly useless for transport of any kind, except when swelled by the periodical rains, during the continuance of which, rafts might be used on them.

The inequalities of the country through which those rivers shape their course, and the general height and steepness of their banks, (which they are not subject to overflow) necessarily precludes the possibility of their promoting culture by a diffusion of their waters; there are no works, or anicuts of any description on them, the numerous subordinate rivulets answering all the purposes of artificial irrigation*.

The whole of the minor streams intersecting Codugu vary only particularly in size, their general characteristics (a rather deep and rugged bed, through which alternately flows a shallow rivulet, or

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* Close to the village of Hanugoad beyond the Codugu frontier in Mysore there is an anicut across the Letchmun Tirut, there is also one across the Cauvery at some distance below the village of Sayrungarel, this however is also in Mysore.

rushes a tempestuous torrent, as influenced by the seasons) being in most other instances quite similar.

It may here be observed that the rivers both below, and above the ghauts in Codugu, begin to swell in the early part of June, and flow with a violent, and boisterous rapidity till October, when their streams become more placid. The excessive and continued rains common amongst those hills for the intervening months will readily account for the immense body of water, that during their continuance forces its passage even by the smallest rivulets, which widen into torrents, and subsiding with the course, leaves an immense chasm, that is but partially occupied by the stream during the other parts of the year,

Cauvery

Codugu proper gives birth to the Cauvery and two principal streams tributary to it, the Sornawutty on the north and Letchmun Tirut on the south, the former running for its whole extent within the country joining it, at the village of Coodigaig (on the boundary), the latter continuing its course for some distance through Mysore, and fertilizing the districts on its borders unites with the parent stream.

The rivers of Hindoostan, doubtless from their beneficial effects, are supposed to be the offspring of some divinity, and their rise and confluence held in religious veneration by the Hindoos; each river has its parent deity, and a wild and fanciful polytheism makes them the scene of some remarkable events connected with their theological History.

The source of the Cauvery does not fail to attract the devotion of the pious, it issues from amidst the recesses of the Western ghauts, and the spring from which it takes its rise is fabled to have been a Nymph of exquisite beauty, the daughter of one of the seven Rishees who while performing Tupysa (or penitential devotion) dissolved into the little fountain which now yields its modest, and distant tribute to the ocean. Immediately on passing Bagamundla it is joined by the Kunniky the Naiad of whose stream is like her sister Goddess the subject of a romantic fiction.

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Ishwara is worshipped at the source of this river, his temple however is exceedingly small and mean, indeed the place altogether owes its celebrity to its sanctity, and must rest its claim to distinction on its intrinsic excellence, entirely devoid of architectural grandeur. If the weary devotee forms his expectations from the splendid edifices of Benares or Juggernaut, or the numberless other holy places in making the pilgrimage of which this forms a stage, he will be disappointed.

No remnants of antiquity decorate this interesting spot; the sacred spring is in the form of a reservoir of about 10 feet square, and 2 deep, it is enclosed amidst mountains(those in its immediate vicinity are dedicated to the seven patriarchs) and is surrounded by wild and picturesque scenery. The road from Bagamundla is nearly 3 miles, winding gently among the heights, but has none of those monuments on it that frequently adorn the avenue leading to any remarkable place of worship—There are 3 temples immediately at the junction of the Cauvery and Kunniky, they are dedicated to the Hindoo triad; those edifices though considerably more elegant then that above, merit but little attention. The sungam or point of confluence is reckoned holy, although of greatly inferior efficacy to the source.

Tulla Cauvery ranking high among the places of religious sanctity, devotees of all descriptions constantly resort to it, either in the fulfillment of some vow to propitiate the deity, or in the ordinary course of their pilgrimage; but at the Jatra, or annual festival which takes place in September, the concourse is said to be from 5 to 6000 and from all parts the superstition is stated to be of a profitable nature, each pilgrim as he bathes in the Holy Fountain places a piece of money in it, and those votive offerings are carefully transferred from the Treasury of the deity to that of the Circar—a great liberality however is shewn to all whom purposes of devotion may have brought to the celebrated fair, as they are fed for the whole, or large part of the period they may remain.

*The Cauvery may be considered from its length, and the volume

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*The space of country whose waters contribute immediately to the Cauvery is 426 ¼ square miles.

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of waters which it carries to the sea, as one of the principal rivers of the Peninsula,it pursues a course of nearly 400 miles,and after fertilizing Tangou disembogues between Negapatam and Tranquebar, mingling its waters with those of the Bay of Bengal. The course of this fine river through Codugu is very tortuous, and its banks are overgrown mostly with a stately forest, which for the greatest part of its whole extent overhangs its borders, they are universally of a rich clay or mould, and every where sufficiently high (on an average nearly about 15 or 20 feet) and steep if not precipitous, as to render their ascent difficult,the general breadth of the river is liable to some varieties, but it imperceptibly increases from its source, its extreme width at the point of departure being about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mile, the bed over which it flows differs in various places being occasionally sandy, pebbly and rocky; the latter feature may however be considered as the most pre-dominant, and consequently is subject to great irregularities of surface. The established passages over the Cauvery are exceedingly limited during the dry months, there is only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet water where it is usually crossed, the river however is not generally fordable even at this season, its depth throughout being extremely unequal varying almost every furlong, but in most parts of the latter 20 miles, it is of sufficient depth to render boats (except in a very few places)at all times necessary. The river forms a strong barrier, and well fitted for defence, the roads leading to the passage of it are stockaded, and could not be forced without some difficulty. The Cauvery from November to the end of May has a rather lovely stream,and a considerable body of water when the vicinity of its source is considered—immediately in the neighbourhood of it, the smallest depth may be 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet,but the greater portion is much beyond this; for the remaining part of the year it assumes the restless impetuosity of a torrent, and during this period is possible to be forded from a short distance west of Bagamungalum

Soornawutty.

*A branch of the Soornawatty issues from the table land on which Muddukayray is situated; its waters however chiefly flow from Cotta Betta, and the numerous mountainous ridges, and minor heights that run in every direction from this immense hill,it will not be desired parti-

* The space of country whose waters contribute immediately to the Soornawutty is 256 $\frac{1}{2}$ square miles.

cularly to enumerate the countless rivulets that contribute to swell this fine stream, as they offer no exception to the general observations that have been made, their course from the rugged nature of the country is extremely winding, their banks are of clay overgrown with jungle often steep, not unfrequently rugged, and passed with difficulty except at established fords; their beds are generally stony, and their breadth variable—not however very considerable—the flow of water varies with the season, during the rains it rolls rapidly along, but for the other parts of the year has a tranquil stream. The nullahs may be considered in most instances as perennial.

After passing the village of Gurgandoor, the Soornawutty joined by many of its tributary branches, begins to assume the appearance of a river; it is here about 400 feet broad, and increasing in size from the accession of the numerous streams on either bank, is nearly as large as the Cauvery at the point where it unites with it; leaving the village of Hahdagayray the banks of this river become rather high and steep, and thence continue so throughout, they are generally of clay, and during the latter part free from forest; its waters run over a bed, in most places rocky—their depth as has been said is influenced by the seasons; in the monsoons it has an impetuous tide, which after October gives way to a gentle stream, in the former instance it is not to be forded but during the latter period, is little more than 3 feet deep.

Doad Holay or Luchmun Tirut.

*The Doad Holay or Luchmun Tirut is the principal channel by which the waters of the southern parts are conveyed to the Cauvery; this river rises amongst the Burumagarry hills, its source situated at the foot of this ridge, is a place of pilgrimage, the little spring however that is the object of religious veneration, has nothing but its intrinsic sanctity, and the picturesque wildness of the surrounding scenery, that can recommend it to observation.

The Luchmun Tirut river runs but a very short distance through Codugu, nor is it in any place during its course remarkable for its size, the extreme breadth may be averaged at about 140 feet

* The space of country whose waters contribute immediately to Luchmun Tirut is 3121 ½ square miles.

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gradually decreasing of course as it approaches its rise; springing from so extended a range of mountains, and running through a country whose general character is woody, this river as will be inferred has a constant supply of water, like the others it varies in quantity, but when not filled by the rains, its depth, from where the small rivulets unite to form the larger stream, may be about 3 feet; it cannot be called fordable in the rains, but is so during the dry season, the steepness of the banks alone offering much impediment at this period—they are of clay and shaded by forest—the bottom is universally sandy.

The inconsiderable portion of the waters of upper Codugu that flow into the Indian Ocean, discharge themselves chiefly by means of the Burrapollay, a small river that passes into the lower country by a gradual descent through a deep chasm in the ghauts, which during the latter part of its course, forms a rocky wall on each side; it drains the waters of 192-12-64ths square miles.

There is nothing with regard to this river which is of sufficient consequence to require a specific mention; it has a constant flow of water, and, while in the upper country, a sandy bottom.

Burrapollay.

The Burrapollay is a branch of the Brullypatam river, which falls into the sea at the town of that name, and is navigable for small craft as far as Illicoor a village on its banks, situated 16-6 miles from the foot of the ghauts.

Hemmawatty.

* The Hemawattay is now the only river of consequence above the ghauts to be spoken of. It rises in the hilly parts of Bullum, and the waters of Codugu contribute but little to its stream. The Hemawatty passes for an inconsiderable distance along the northern boundary, its bottom is sandy, and its depth little more than 3 feet in the fair season, which is the only period it is fordable, the banks are steep, and like the other rivers in the interior, is incapable of irrigating the country on their borders.

Rivers below the Ghauts.

The Noojeekul, or as it is otherwise known the Pruswunni river, descending from the ghauts that skirt the eastern border of the Sooleeay

* The space of country whose waters contribute immediately to the Himmawatty is 84⅛ square miles.

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district, and the Coomardarry springing from the foot of the Soobramuhni hills,are the principal rivers that intersect the lower districts—the former disemboguing at Chundarghurray, and the latter falling into the sea at Mangalore.

The Pruswunnie river.

The union of the Sumpajee and Bullanaad Holay, (the point of confluence taking place at Payrahjee,) forms the Noogeekul, which having run for some miles, and being joined by various minor streams, during its course assumes the name of the Pruswunnie—this river flows through a country generally hilly,at least of a very irregular surface, and partially covered with forest, it enjoys consequently a large and never failing supply of water. Its stream from October to May glides tranquilly along, and may at this period be from 3 to 4 feet deep in those parts where it is passed, butin this particular its character is liable to much variety, and in most places it is of great depth, it is however only during the monsoon when its enlarged stream rushes with a restless impetuosity, that it is at all navigable, and is then only useful in floating timber by means of rafts—The tide affects it but a short distance from its mouth. The passages of this river are rather numerous; but it is not even in the dry season everywhere fordable, its breadth however is not great though it is tolerably uniform in this particular throughout, being where it quits the Codugu districts of about 400 feet, and in the higher parts 100 less.

The bed of the Pruswunnie is generally of a rocky character, and consequently very unequal in its surface,its banks are rather high and steep after passing Payrahjee; approaching the sea however they become gentler, and much less precipitous, they are throughout of clay but though low, the waving nature of the country on their borders renders it impossible for the waters of this river to be of any use in promoting cultivation.

Coomardarry.

The Coomardarry being the northern boundary dividing the lower districts from North Canara, is but partly formed from the waters of Codugu. In most material points its character is quite similar to that of the Pruswunnie, its banks however are not remarkable for height during the early part of its course, but they increase in this particular as they approach the sea. It passes through a rather rugged but well

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cultivated country, the low steep hills that cover its surface generally run close to the river, its banks consequently are incapable of being rendered subservient to agricultural purposes, the flow of water is always considerable, the depth in the higher parts may be about 2 feet which gradually increases to 3 and 4 where it branches off from Codugu; it is crossed in numerous places but is not generally fordable in the dry season, and during the wet, the force and velocity of the stream renders a passage of it impossible except in boats. The bed is partially rocky, its breadth at its extreme points may be from one to seven hundred feet.

The village of Oopin-Ungadday is situated where the Coomardarry and Nettrawutti meet; from the point of confluence the united streams assume the latter name, and pursuing their course to Mangalore, form one of the finest of the numerous rivers that intersect this coast, it increases considerably in breadth, and when near its mouth spreads into a beautiful Bay. The Nettrawutti though useless for purposes of irrigation is of infinite service for those of commerce, it is navigable for small craft to a short distance beyond Oopin-Ungadday, and from the commercial town of Buntawalla on its northern bank for boats of considerable size, the influence of the tide reaching to this place.

Irruday Holay.

The Irruday Holay is characterized by all those particulars, that mark the two rivers last spoken of, it however is smaller than either being at the point of departure only about 250 feet broad; its flow of water is abundant and perennial.*

A view of the map will show the minor streams that contribute to the principal ones of the lower districts, it would be an unnecessary repetition to give a specific account of each, as they cannot be said to have any peculiarities that render them an exception to the general character which has been given of such secondary channels.

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* On the bank of this river close to the village of Irruday (and belonging to the Company) is a hot spring, immediately in its vicinity in the bed of the river also issues one or two small streams of a similar temperature. An account of this spring will be found given.

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Lakes, Tanks, Reservoirs &c.

Throughout Codugu there is not a lake or reservoir of any kind meriting particular observation; in the more hilly parts such are quite unnecessary, and consequently unknown. Yailsowra and some parts of Kiggutt naad, are the only places where tanks are to be found, and they are exceedingly dimunitive in point of size, the largest not exceeding at the utmost one quarter of a mile square, and but very few reach to this area; they are all for the purposes of irrigation, and contain for most part of the year a small quantity of water—there is nothing with regard to those reservoirs of sufficient consequence to deserve any further notice—if they are at all remarkable for any thing, it is for the numerous quantity of wild fowl,—principally ducks and teel—with which they are covered for a few months subsequent to the rainy season.

Forests, Woods, Jungles, &c.

The whole of Codugu proper is clothed with stately forest, it is however the declivities of the ghauts where the trees attain their greatest magnitude, this stupendous ridge which though steep is neither broken or rocky, and is everywhere covered with a rich stratum of mould, brings to maturity timber of a prodigious size; a large portion of the eastern boundary presents a wide extent of forest, but though by no means of scanty growth, it is comparatively so, with that which shades this chain of mountains. Bamboos in all their varieties compose a large part of interminable woods, and this most useful, and beautiful reed, is here found in the greatest excellence. The jungles are difficult to traverse; in many places the Rattan of various dimensions, and nearly of as good a quality as that brought from the eastern islands, together with the delicate reed from which the Hindoos make their pens, aided by unnumerable plants and creepers, not unfrequently forming an impervious underwood.

Such a vast assemblage of woods leaves a large scope open to the labors of the Botanist, and there can be no doubt his researches would be attended by results equally interesting, as the field of inquiry is novel and extended—to such must be left a scientific classification of the woods in Codugu, as a very general catalogue of the most common will only be here attempted.

Hulsiná, Jack, *(artocarpus)* extremely common in the upper

country both in the neigbourhood of the villages, and throughout the jungles. It grows to a large size—makes excellent planks.

Heb, Hulsina or Aginney. This is the wild Jack, grows in the thicker forests, and reaches a great height, its fruit though eatable is small and very unpalatable, it furnishes large and excellent beams and planks, when cut it has a light yellowish tinge, but after some time approaches the rich dark color of mahogany.

Maurie. Those stately Palms grow in great quantities on the sides of the ghauts. The Elephant is partial to the leaves of their branches, and often destroys the trees for the purpose of getting at them. Toddy is extracted from them by a poor caste of people called Coodyer.

Wild Arreca. This tree is considerably smaller than the garden one, but in every other particular resembling it; it bears a small fruit, which is used as a substitute for the arreca nut amongst some of the lower classes; it splits with great ease, and is calculated for laths.

Arregee or Arringy. Produces large timber, and is useful in building: this is only common below the ghauts; the bark of this tree is turned to a useful purpose being carefully stripped off, and undergoing a slight preparation, it is manufactured into bags for transporting grain, and sometimes into cloths, continuing servicable for sometime.

Mangoe(*Mangifera.*) Grows to an immense size throughout the country, but its fruit is everywhere indifferent.

Tamarind This tree only thrives on the borders of the more open country. It is met with in the interior, but does not there produce fruit; in the absence of this necessary seasoning that of the Punnapooly is used.

Punnapooly. This is a beautiful tree, large, regular and elegant in its form, the fruit of it is something bigger than the Olive, shaped like it, excessively tart, and makes an excellent condiment. Oil is said to be sometimes extracted from its kernel.

Doopada (*Vateria indica.*) This is known as the Damer tree, from it exudes a gum much used in incense, it has a

beautiful foliage, and grows best in damped situations. The timber is of but little value.

Boolundy or Nandy. Attains a great height, its timber is useful in the coarser woodwork of buildings.

Chempay or Sumpagy. This tree is common throughout the upper country, it reaches a great stature, and produces excellent timber, there are two species of it, differing however not very materially; its wood is of a close grain easily worked, and capable of being put to many useful purposes, it makes good furniture, is used to great advantage in buildings, (affording large beams) and even in nicer workmanship, answering well for stocks of guns &c. This tree is frequently met with in the vicinity of religious temples as it produces that delicate flower with which the Images in them are adorned.

Kooloomy. Of great size, and useful in building.

Nayrula. Large and useful, the fruit is of a black color like the sloe, and is eaten; of the wood ploughs are sometimes made.

Baaga. Large but useless.

Ummay. Produces a small eatable berry having an agreeable flavor, is excellent firewood.

Bussaree. Ropes are sometimes made from the filaments of its barks, it has a rich foliage, affords excellent shelter from the sun, and is always found near choultries, and places of worship.

Kyooloo. The bark of this tree also furnishes ropes more flexible, and otherwise better than those manufactured from the former.

Beety or the Blk-wood tree. It is met in great size, and large quantities in the forest along the eastern boundary, it is good timber, but not used as such, being only generally cut for the purpose of making flambeaus for which it is well adopted from the quantity of oil it contains; it makes excellent ramrods.

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Noga. A large and beautful tree its wood is light, and from it is manufactured the Noga or yoke connecting the cattle employed on the plough—from this it takes its name.

Mutti (*Chuncoa Muttia.*) This tree is the native of a comparatively poor soil, it is found in the lower districts where it predominates: it is straight, grows to a great size, and affords excellent and durable planks and beams; from its bark is manufactured the best edible chunam, and the only kind here used, the process for making it is simple; the astringent qualities of its bark renders it useful in tanning.

Golee. Its bark makes good ropes.

Auladu or Banian-tree Too well known to require a character here.

Sauntee. Large but useless.

Siduee. Exceedingly large, and very hard, great quantities grow on the sides of the ghauts, it is said to be good timber.

Powillay. Small, and only fit for firewood.

Yaillundee. Small, produces an olive shaped fruit which has an agreeable flavour.

Pindy. Found principally below the ghauts, it is straight, and of great stature, its branches are very regular; this tree appears a species, if not actually what is called the Poon, and is extemely well adapted for mats, it produces an oleaginous fruit, which when dry is made into a kind of candle much used.

Siripauly Of great size, and in large quantities, its timber however is said not to be durable.

Cotapauly. A species of the former, its timber is soft and something like deal. Musical instruments are sometimes made from it.

Siripinni. Large, and straight, the bottom part entirely disencumbered of branches, it is well adapted for

masts—it is durable and good for every kind of woodwork.

Uttee, (wild fig tree.) The fruit is tasteless, and the timber of no use.

Mootagudda. The seed is used in medicine, the flower has a yellow temporary dye, the leaves used by the natives to eat their food from.

Baingay, (*Ficus Bengalensis.*) A beautiful but useless tree.

Hugginu. Tolerable timber—species of the gum tree.

Nirkooku. An immense tree, with a rich foliage, only grows in the vicinity of rivulets—is useless as timber.

Comuty.

Bullapauly. A species of the Siripauly from which it differs but little.

Allighinuu. A species of the Poon adapted for masts.

Gayru or Cudju Nut Tree. The wild Gayru grows to an immense size but is of no use.

Honnay, (*Peterocarpus Santalinus.*) A beautiful tree, and valuable timber.

Mallingooly. Large, and good, timber.

Hooleengee. Small; its wood is of a reddish color.

Tuddachella.
Cuddavaud.
Woodee.
Toopra. } Used as timber for the smaller houses, but principally as firewood.

Taygadu, (*Tectonagrandis* or teak tree.) This valuable tree is by no means common throughout the whole extent of the country—it is seen along the eastern border, but of no superior quality, or size—it is scarcely ever to be met with in the lower districts, or along the sides of the ghauts.

Dindagua (*Andersonia Punchmum*) A Gum tree, large size.

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Gubbiel.	Small, the native of a poor soil; matches are made from its bark; stocks of guns, and ploughs from its wood.
Churuhonna.	Of large size; canoes are made from its trunk.
Bellasindy.	The wood furnishes strong beams which are used in the building of temples &c.
Caasurcunnu.	Only to be met with below the ghauts; it is large and has a rich foliage. The fruit of this tree is globular as to shape, and about the size of an apple; it is of a most brilliant red color. To man it is poison; it is however readily eaten by cattle, and imparts an extremely bitter flavour to the milk of those cows which have fed on it.
Holuch, (Chuncoa Holivay.)	Its timber is used for building.
Beddikary and Pavu	Do. do. do.
Cumma.	Used as firewood. Wild honey is collected from its branches.
Ticay (*Laurus Cassia*)	
Palmira (*Borassus Habeliformis.*)	This tree is only met in the western parts of the lower districts. Toddy is extracted from it; the native of a poor soil, it is no where to be found above the ghauts.

Fruit trees thrive very well, particularly the orange, citron, and lime, all of which are here found in great abundance, and of peculiar excellence.

Bamboo. This reed, so generally and extensively useful, forms a large part of the forests. Some few remarks as to its physiology may perhaps not be unacceptable.

This valuable plant grows in clumps, and is said to live for 60 or 80 years, it blossoms at the end of that period, and this state is known as the prelude to its dissolution, as the whole of the tree above ground subsequently withers and dies. The number of years to which the bamboo reaches is still questionable, as it does not seem yet known to what age the seedling will survive, and from this circumstance only

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can the fact be known; the fixed residence of Europeans in India is perhaps not sufficiently long for any one individual to prove it by experience.

A curious fact in the history of this reed occurred a short time since in Wynaad; the ryots in that country having petitioned the Collector for some remission of their assessments, owing to the losses they had sustained from an extended portion of the bamboo forest having gone to seed, (their subsequent decay causing a considerable loss to those who had the privilege of disposing of them) so general was this decay that in the month of March 1817 passing through this district in the course of 11 miles, there was scarcely a bamboo tree to be seen in the extensive forest, through which the road ran, that was not either dead, dying, or in blossom. Clumps of all ages and size contiguous to, though distinct from, each other, were in a similar situation; the smaller clumps here mentioned were supposed to be shoots, which had risen from the larger ones.

From the above circumstances it would appear that, however immature, the dissolution was not the less certain, and the fact would evidently lead to the conclusion, that the parent tree and its offspring die together; this opinion is held by some Botanists,* and is one that would appear verified in some measure from the circumstances above mentioned; adopting the idea, we shall not be surprised at whole forests of bamboo decaying at the same period. As a further illustration of what has been said, it may be observed that in 1800 several young bamboo cuttings separated from the root of the larger tree, were planted in the garden of a gentleman, and throve luxuriantly, one of them blossomed in 1817, the experiment was again repeated in 1807, similar plants were put down and attained the usual size, 5 of them blossomed in 1816-17. It is conjectured that those shoots were separated from trees of different ages which died at the same period as their offspring. In the same garden with the above plants, were several bamboo trees which had been raised from seed in March 1817, they had attained their 14 years and were then in high health and vigour; part of those previous

* Mr. Knight.

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experiments being only made on shoots, the proofs arising from them are not fully satisfactory, the observations that have been offered, however may tend to aid enquiry as to obtaining a more distinct information with regard to the physiology of this most useful reed.

The above catalogue presents but an imperfect list of the trees to be found in Codugu; it would not be difficult to enlarge it, but as it contains the names of the most remarkable, it was not conceived desirable to swell it by any further additions.

Agrarams of Bramins, Polliums, &c.

Bramins so powerful and numerous in the neighbouring countries, never appear to have had any influence in Codugu, where the ecclesiastical class is exceedingly small; there are here consequently none of the agrarams which in most Hindoo estates, the pious credulity of the Chief confers upon that sacred order of men; they are numerous however in the districts below the ghauts, but as ryots, enjoying no privilege whatever beyond the other castes, indeed, there is no Hierarchy of any kind, and though the Chief is of the Sivabucter tribe the religious institutions belonging to his faith are confined to a very small number, and those but poorly endowed; a few insignificant mattams in Yailsowra, one at Mahdeopoor, and another at Maddukayray are the only establishments of this nature.

Jaghiers.

Estates held in Jaghier are numerous, but none of them reach to any great extent, it has been found impossible to learn such information regarding them as could enable their position and limits to be ascertained; it necessarily follows, that no minute details as to those particulars have been acquired; some general observations however will be found to have been made on them that may serve to convey some idea as to the tenure by which those possessions are held.

Punneeyàs or Royal farms.

Some portion of the revenues of the Codugu Prince arises from personal estates or royal domains (designated Punneeyàs) dispersed almost over every part of the country, the extensive landed property of which he is thus immediate proprietor, is of considerable value, and provides for one great source of expenditure.

The same unwillingness to communicate any intelligence that has just been a subject of regret, operated in preventing any distinct knowledge being acquired as to the number and extent of those estates. The accompanying catalogue will be found to exhibit the names of those which have been actually ascertained; there is but little reason to doubt however that a considerable portion still remain unknown, but without specific information no opinion can be hazarded as to their total amount; it is said to extend to twenty or twenty-four; the list now presented only includes those with regard to the existence of which there is no doubt whatever. The Estates are named after the village in which they are situated.

1. Nunjarajputtun.... In the Naad of that name, very large, and has an excellent garden in which is produced the best oranges in the country.
2. Kudgoadloo..... In the Naad of that name.
3. Hayrow.
4. Hoodhoar. } In Kooyangerray Naad.
5. Sumpajee.
6. Currikay. } In Tawa Naad, small.
7. Muddukayray.....The Fort and fields in its vicinity.
8. Niddugunnie.....In Muddukayary Naad.
9. Kuddumkul
10. Kautoor.
11. Bylhully. } In Sooleeay Talook.
12. Bellioor.
13. Bullaree. } In the Poottoor Talook.
14. Buddugayray.....In Hahlayray Naad.

The grounds in the immediate vicinity of the palaces in Hahlayray, Naku, and Gudday Naad, are also the personal estates of the Rajah.

The arrangement as to the management of these estates is not in all cases similar; they are however principally superintended by agents of the Chief,* stocked with his cattle, and tilled by his predial

* We find a considerable Revenue of the Rajah of Travancore drawn from personal estates, and this source of Revenue appears to have constituted a part of that, of all the petty chieftains throughout Malabar and Canara, and was known in Bednore.

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servants of whom he has a very considerable number. On the inhabitants of the district in which they are situated, is imposed the obligation of assisting either personally, or with a certain number of their servants, for a specific period at the time when the business of the Punneeya requires such additional aid.* The cultivation of these estates is conducted with great care, and the order in which the whole is preserved gives them something the appearance of English farms. On each are extensive offices and granaries kept with great neatness; the predial servants live in the vicinity, and an active Parputty maintains regularity, and secures industry; they have in many cases gardens and other plantations belonging to them, particularly cocoanuts, below the ghauts.

The Punneeyás are principally sown with rice, but sugarcane turmeric, ginger, saffron, and all kind of vegetables are grown on them. The produce of those estates chiefly goes to supply the household and maintain the numerous followers which the Chief supports; they are valuable as a revenue from their number and extent; their annual average produce in rice will be found stated in another place.

In some few instances the Punneeyás are occupied by ryots, who share equally the amount of their produce with the Prince—they being furnished by him with the implements and cattle necessary for the purpose of cultivation. This tenure (which does not hold with regard to those that have been mentioned) however is not so general as the system which has been just noticed, and it is only with some waste lands and inferior estates, that this mode of management is adopted.

Cattle, animals, &c.

These hills from the richness of their vegetation, the luxuriance of the forests, and the abundance of water with which the soil is supplied, would appear to point them out for pasturage; but neither the number, form, or size of the domesticated animals belonging to the country is such as would be expected from the above favorable circumstances; the length and violence of the rainy season however will in some measure account for the fact.

* Numerous feudal services of this nature are required from the Inhabitants, but I am not qualified to particularize all the instances.

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Of domestic animals there are but few indeed, they may nearly be said to be limited to those of the cow and buffalo kind. The extreme violence of the rains destroys sheep of which there are consequently scarcely any; some few may be occasionally brought from Mysore, but the country is too hostile to their habits, to admit of their being bred within it; even the goat and ass the native of every climate, and adapting themselves to every change of temperature, though hardy, can scarcely survive the rainy season, and are consequently rarely to be met with; hogs are amongst the short list of their domestic animals, they are reared for purposes of food, but are not in any considerable numbers. Poultry are reared in some quantity—There are no horses, except those belonging to the Rajah, as the few wretched ponies, that are to be met with scarcely deserve to be classed as such; were it not for the long duration of the rains Codugu would appear a favorable place for breeding them.

Kine. The same inattention to the amelioration of the breed of cattle almost universal throughout this part of India is here equally remarkable; the rural economy of the Hindoo seems not yet to have attained this point; no attempts are ever made at improvement; the males, not emasculated till a late period, mix with the cows and propagate the same or more degenerate progeny.

The climate is said to be prejudicial to cattle of the cow kind, particularly in the more hilly parts where the extreme severity of the rains destroy those not native to the place.

Although it may be said they are rather numerous, they are rarely if ever exported, and cannot be viewed as an object of traffic, altho' some few are occasionally sent to the districts below the ghauts, but never into Mysore from whence indeed a small number of the better kind may even be imported.

The cattle common within those hills are more diminutive, and every way inferior to those reared in the open country of Mysore, and would appear a medium breed between those, and the dwarfish race of the western coast; the inferiority must for the greatest part be ascribable to the heavy rains which deluge these hills for near-

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ly a third of the year. Nunjarajputtun and Yailsowra are somewhat better situated in this particular, and have a more improved breed. The cattle of Codugu however in general never rise above mediocrity; they are of gentle habits; a brown or black colour predominates, they have but a small hump, and a short thick but not coarse form, they possess some strength and are well calculated for the light plough in use; this however is the only labor that they can be well applied to, as their size renders them quite unfit for carriage of almost any kind; they are housed at night where they get a supply of straw, but are in other instances not tended with any particular attention. The ordinary price of a pair of oxen is 16 or 18 Rupees; a cow sells for seven.

The cow kind below the ghauts has degenerated quite to a pigmy standard; they are meagre, wretched animals, unfit for the road, being quite useless as beasts of burthen, and apparently even ill calculated for the common business of husbandry; it requires only an ordinary share of exertion to improve their condition; much however as the Hindoos venerate those animals, they cannot be said to treat them with a degree of tenderness, and care, in proportion to their superstitions. The cattle of the upper country when exported to that below are said soon to degenerate in these districts; the violence of the heat during more than half the year destroys the herbage, and in consequence cattle of every description are with difficulty supported; they are sometimes during this season fed on straw, but more generally on leaves (of the Uttee or wild fig tree in particular) which when boiled are mixed with the husks of rice and given them. With so few good qualities to recommend them, their value, as may readily be imagined, is not considerable, a cow and calf of the best description is sold for 6 Rupees, and a working ox rarely costs much more.

Buffaloes

The shade afforded by those jungles is favorable to rearing Buffaloes, and they consequently form a part of the stock of every cultivator; they are rather numerous in the more woody districts particularly in Kiggutt Naad, and generally in the southern parts, where the extensive uncultivated valleys, almost always in a marshy state, are quite congenial to the nature of those amphibious animals, they here attain a rather large

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size, and the female yields nearly double the quantity of milk given by the cow. The male is well calculated for the purposes of husbandry especially in those agricultural operations that take place in the rainy seasons; he is seen sometimes yoked with the bullock, but does more labour, and lives longer, his age reaching from 12 to 15 years, during the greatest part of which he is capable of working; his general value may be from 16 to 23 or 24 Rupees. The Buffalo of these parts is of the usual color; he is a large bulky clumsy animal with long annulated horns, lying generally on the back of his neck, he is timid, stubborn, and vicious, not well calculated for carriage, from his unwieldy shape, slow movement, and inability to bear any heat.

The Buffalo below the ghauts differs in few particulars from the description just given, he is however smaller and more puny.

Wild animals.

The recesses of these deep and lofty forests give shelter to innumerable wild animals; indeed these woods in all probability contain a greater number than is to be found in any other part of the peninsula of similar extent; they appear like one immense menagerie, the inhabitants of which having deserted the neighbouring countries, here fixed their final abode; most of them however are familiarly known, and the few loose observations here made can add but little to the stock of Natural History.

Codugu seems particularly favorable to the increase of elephants, which are here equally abundant as in Ceylon, they are gregarious, keeping in droves from 15 to 30, even more, led by a principal who directs their movements: they inhabit indiscriminately all the woody parts, but particularly towards the eastern boundary, retreating into the thickest forests as the hot season advances; they are voracious, destroying plantations and crops, and it requires the utmost care and diligence to guard against their inroads; they frequently pass the Cauvery in large bodies (as they swim exceedingly well) and ravage the fields on its borders; they inhabit likewise the stately, and luxuriant forest, that covers the whole face of the ghauts, they are there very numerous, and frequently extend their depredations on the crops of the husbandmen as far as Punjee; when met in droves, they do not always attack the traveller (whose apprehensions however sel-

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dom allow him to proceed alone) but encountered singly the utmost danger is to be apprehended; these solitary ones are supposed to have been driven from the herd, to which they dare not return, and in consequence become furious in the highest degree; the mode of taking them in kyddas, or folds, as in Bengal, and Ceylon, is unknown, they are always caught in kups or pits dug to a considerable depth, covered with a slight stage to conceal them, and placed immediately across the paths which the elephants are in the habit of frequenting; much care is necessary to disguise the snare thus laid, as these sagacious animals are known to be particularly acute in detecting it. A number of elephants for the supply of the Mysore Rajah are yearly caught on the boundary of the two countries close to Hanagode; so numerous are they in Codugu, that they are taken in almost every part of it. In taking them no other mode is practiced than that which has just been mentioned. If young they are easily tamed, but when arrived at a more mature age, a year; and sometimes two are necessary.

The elephants of Codugu are divided into two classes, the Dodda Ras, or large, the gidda Ras or small kind; (this latter is not remarkable for being particularly diminutive) distinguished however by no other peculiarities. They are not so valuable as those imported from Ceylon, being inferior in size, and less capable of work; it has been frequently observed, that these animals are less robust, and smaller as they recede from the sea coast, the natives here however do not admit that those from below the ghauts are stronger or bulkier, than those which are found in the country above; their tusks are generally speaking not large; some however are of very considerable dimensions, but in most cases, they make no approach in point of size to those coming from Africa, and I am led to believe, they are not often destroyed for the sake of them. The elephants are all considered the property of the Chief, and few other persons are allowed to possess them; they are never bred, and but little could be learned with any degree of certainty as to the general age to which they arrive, or any of the minuter parts of their natural history; these points are now however too well ascertained to render the absence of any further information on them a matter of much regret.

Tigers.

Royal Tigers of the largest kind infest these woods in vast numbers, as also cheetas, and

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leopards, less ferocious, and equally beautiful; these animals do not here commit much mischief, as the abundance of game which they meet in their haunts prevents them from preying on men and cattle —the civit, toddy, and tiger cat, the ounce, or small panther, and other animals of the feline species, are to be met with.

Bears. Bears are very common; they are large and always black, differing but little in size, and form from those of a colder climate; their flesh is good, and though not an unusual dish in some countries, is not here eaten; the bear is not carnivorous, feeding generally on white ants, wild honey, roots &c., his habits are comparatively gentle.

Wild Hogs of immense stature and strength abound, they are sometimes seen to attain the height of upwards of 3 feet.

The Sambre or Elk is still more numerous; they keep in herds and are found in great numbers along the bare tops of the ghauts; both these animals are greatly sought after by the natives, as they form the chief part of the animal food used by them; they are remarkably expert in destroying them. The sambre, when from under the shelter of the woods, is timid, and difficult to be approached; on such occasions the hunter covers himself with a blanket, and advancing on his hands and feet, approaches sufficiently near to shoot them. The red and spotted deer, also the antelope, are to be met with in equal abundance, but they generally inhabit the more open parts.

Kautee or wild Buffalo. Large herds of these animals every where abound throughout the thicker forests; they would seem to bear a great resemblance to the Bison of naturalists. The kautee when very young is of a dark reddish hue, this however as he becomes older, gives way to the slate or ash colour of the domestic buffalo. The belly, legs, (as far as the knee joint,) breast and face, being however of a dirty whitish tinge; unlike the former the whole body is covered with long hair, particularly the dew-lap.

The wild and tame buffalo are evidently of the same species, varying only in those particulars, which are the results of their different modes of life; the former is remarkable for his greater strength, ferocity, and activity. The figure of this formidable animal is coarse,

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and clumsy, the forehead is extremely elevated, his horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp. They are remarkable for the uniformity of their curvature. The neck is extremely large and depressed, the withers have no hump, but are very high, and gradually sloping off, give to the hinder parts the appearance of being disproportionately low, and comparatively weak.

Not venerated like the cow, the kautee is killed without hesitation by the Codugus; its flesh however is eaten only by the very lowest classes; its horns are sometimes polished, and kept as ornaments, and the skin when tanned is occasionally made into shields; the wild buffalo is found on the highest hills, and though his habits appear less amphibious than the domestic one, he seems to dislike the sun and only emerges from the woods in the cooler parts of the day.

Kaymay. The kaymay is sometimes called the wildgoat but approaches nearer, to the goat antelope; it is a beautiful little animal, smaller, and if possible, more delicately formed than the deer, from which it only materially differs in the formation of the head, and structure of the horns: the latter are rather short, a little wreathed, and their roots for the first inch and a half are enveloped in hair; its cry something resembles that of the goat, and it doubtless has acquired for it the appellation it bears. It is killed by the natives, and is delicate meat.

Kennai or wild dog. Wild dogs are numerous throughout these hills, but it would not appear that they are peculiar to them; being known in Soanda and Bednore; they are also common amongst the Ramghur hills in Bengal, and met with in numbers along the banks of the Indus.

The kennais resemble the jackal, or rather something between it and the wolf, to which perhaps they make the nearest approach; they are larger, and more powerful, being remarkable for the strength of their jaws and neck, of a darker colour, and much more ferocious than the former; their voice resembles something of the barking of a dog; they associate in packs from ten to twenty, and thus united they will attack any beast of the forest. They kill the tiger, and

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are said to be great enemies of the feline species in general; they are represented as excessively swift, never failing to catch what they once give chase to. On coming up with the object of their pursuit they invariably seize the animal by the genitals, or head; in the latter instance, immediately destroying the eyes, thus having once fixed themselves, they maintain their position sucking the blood of their unfortunate victim, and never quitting their hold till he has fallen from pain, or fatigue. The sambre, and various species of deer, are the principal animals they prey on; they are gregarious, living in societies from which it is said not to be uncommon to expel such members as may become obnoxious to them—death would be the penalty of his again returning to the herd. They are not considered as dangerous to man, and are never destroyed by the natives. The kennai is represented as never thoroughly to be tamed, and as languishing under confinement.

It would require a zoological history fully to describe all the animals of which these woods are the retreat; the slight notices here given, cannot much enlarge the knowledge of nature. It will not however be required further to mention, particularly, the long list of those yet remaining to be noticed. The most remarkable in the catalogue are the ant-eater, sloth, a beautiful kind of squirrel with a large and bushy tail (eaten by the Codugus,) the ferret, mungoose, armadilla, and all species of monkeys comprehending a most numerous tribe (said also to be eaten by those mountaineers) divided into various classes; amongst them the lion-tailed is the most remarkable, also the large black one sacred to Rama.

Reptiles do not particularly abound, nor are they remarkably noxious; the large forest snake (the boa of naturalists) is said to be common, but has not been met with. The feathered tribe are equally numerous, and various; but as they consist mostly of those known in the neighbouring countries, a list of them will not be considered necessary.

Not conversant in natural history, the above enumeration is necessarily loose and imperfect; in making it many doubtless have escaped notice, but there are none of them which are not already familiarly known.

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Remarkable buildings.

It is a curious circumstance that throughout Codugu proper, there is but one building (Mahdeopoor Mattam) of at all an ancient date that merits the slighest observation; the absence of any, that has the least claim to extent, elegance, or solidity is remarkable; the numerous temples for religious purposes are small, mean, and mostly built of clay, nor in the few there may be of the better kind, are there any of those sculptures that adorn the commonest buildings dedicated to the Deity in the neighbouring countries.

In the district below the ghauts, the pagodas at Uddoor and Poottoor are the most remarkable, as being elevated and spacious buildings, they are kept in good repair, both exactly similar, and erected after the manner common in Canara; the pagoda is enclosed within a square raised two stories high, and is covered with copper; it has a double roof (the lower projecting beyond the upper one)and is of an oval form; the other buildings devoted to similar purposes are numerous, but small, not remarkable for any particular sanctity, and quite unworthy of notice.

Mahdeopoor Mattam.

This is in the village of Jumboor N. E. of Muddukayray; it is the ancient cemetery of the Codugu family, and is prettily situated on the bank of a fine stream, it but has no claims to architectural merit. This building is about 40 feet square, nearly the same height, and stands on an elevated base; it consists of two stories, the one at bottom is the place of sepulture, the tomb being enclosed by a smaller apartment within the larger; the one above is open, the same size as the under room just mentioned, and is surrounded by a low balustrade; a large figure of Busswa sculptured in black granite decorates the lower apartment, and the same image adorns the capital of four small pillars placed on the top of the building at the different angles.

Mausoleum at Muddukayray.

The most remarkable modern building is the mausoleum of Verajender the late Rajah; within its walls repose the remains of this once active spirit, and his Ranee or Queen. It was erected by him but a short time

before his death, destined to be the monument of his posterity, this shrine has been transformed into a religious temple, and Veerajender canonized as a saint, or rather enrolled amongst the gods, has become the chief divinity, and is worshipped by his former subjects—admiration of his undaunted courage, and the rememberance of the gallantry, and conduct, that delivered them from a fierce and unrelenting enemy appears to have triumphed over the recollection of the various atrocities that marked the close of his life; indeed, from the character of Veerajender we should be inclined to infer, that he owed this apotheosis more to the clinquant and imposing qualities of the warrior, than the less brilliant, but more useful virtues of the ruler. The anniversary of this fane is celebrated at the festival of the Sivaratree occurring generally in Feburary, on this occasion a vast number of people collect to pay their worship to its deity, principally jungums; the extensive charity liberally dispensed in such instances may be supposed to quicken the zeal of those devotees.

The mausoleum is situated at the northern extremity of the petta, and enclosed by a high embankment; it is a square building, the length of the sides being about 50 feet, it is about 60 high and surmounted by a small neat dome, at the 4 angles rises a similar number of columns having the figure of a Busswa on each. The exterior is plain and neat; it is extremely well built, and kept with the utmost care and attention.

Palace.

The next remarkable building is the Palace; a structure of recent date, being erected by the present Prince; it is within the fort, of which it occupies a large part. This edifice consists of two stories, is lofty and spacious, and like most Hindoo buildings of this nature, covers a great extent of area. It is of a square form having a small court in the centre; three of its, sides present nearly a blank space varied only by a few apertures to admit the (air for they cannot be called windows). Considerable innovations however have been made in the architecture of the country with regard to the face of this structure, which is quite after the European fashion, presenting a very handsome front of about 110 feet long; a range of arches runs along the whole extent of the bottom part, the upper having a contiguous row of windows shut in by glass sashes and venetian blinds, a balustrade surmounting the whole. The front rooms are quite after the European manner, and visitors

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are received in an apartment the architecture and furniture of which differ in nothing from an English one; as to the interior arrangements they are doubtless more consonant to native ideas of excellence and comfort. The whole however is an exceedingly stately fabric presenting something greatly superior to most Hindoo palaces, being conceived and executed, after a much better taste than those Royal residences generally are; it is of brick and altogether finished with equal solidity, as elegance.

The house for the reception of travellers is but a short distance from the Fort, and in the midst of a plantation of Orange trees, it owes its erection to the gratitude of the late Rajah, whose attachment to the English is so well known. It is a handsome building consisting of two stories; the form that of a centre with four turrets at the angles; it is in every way after the European model, both as to architecture, and furniture, nor has any thing been forgotten necessary to render it quite complete in those particulars; a regular establishment of servants is kept up expressly for it, and every care taken to anticipate the wants, and provide for the convenience of the traveller, who is treated with the most liberal hospitality.

The few buildings that have just been noticed are the only ones at all deserving remark.

Mines, Minerals, Manufactures.

Mines are generally found in hilly countries, as such, Codugu it is probable contains some, a knowledge of which might perhaps reward the search of the curious, at present its minerals lie undisturbed in the bosom of the mountains that give them birth, their contents are unknown; it may be observed however that it is in those of a barren and sterile nature, that they are to be looked for, with greater certainty of success. All the metal utensils requisite for domestic or agricultural purposes are imported, and the inhabitants deny the existence of any mines, but such an assurance would deserve little credit, as, if they thought it was their interest to conceal them, no nice regard to truth could be expected. The soil however has not been observed to contain metallic particles, nor have any other circumstances that would indicate them been perceived. However questionable the existence of mines may be, there is every reason to believe none are worked.

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Manufactures.

No town in Codugu can be said to be the seat of any manufacture, the feelings and habits of the aboriginies quite unfit them for inert and sedentary pursuits; manufacturing industry has made no progress amongst any part of the population. The labours of the inhabitants are directed to the business of agriculture, and they exchange the products of their soil for the manufactures of their neighbours.

Soil of the high grounds in Codugu proper.

From the situation and nature of the country a great variety in its soil necessarily will be inferred.

Trees indicating in some measure the nature, and quality of the soil on which they grow, that of Codugu proper covered by one continued forest must be considered of singular fertility; the soil of most of the low hills, and slopes is of a reddish firm earth with a slight gravelly mixture (occasionally a little stony) the luxuriant foliage and stature of the trees they produce is a sufficient assurance of their fecundity.

Of the large hills.

The large hills including the ridge forming the summits of the ghauts, the Brumagerray mountains, Cotay Betta and a few others are not so fortunate in this particular. Ascending from their foot, the soil becomes gradually more meagre, rough and stony as the top is approached, the summits of the greater part of these hills are devoid of wood, though not destitute of verdure, as a luxuriant pasturage (the resort of numberless wild animals) succeeds to the deep woods that encompass their base. The soil of these hills can in no place be called rocky, blocks of coarse granite are occasionally to be met with on them, but those immense tables of brick or indurated stone that forms so great an ingredient in the composition of the ghauts of the more northern parts, particularly those of Soanda, do not enter into the formation of that portion of them coming within this territory.

Of the high grounds in Yailsowra.

The soil of the higher grounds of Yailsowra consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs, and a tall thin grass.

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The western face of the ghauts.

Descending westward from the summit of these mountains, the soil undergoes some change, becoming of a darker hue and rather more permeable, it is highly fertile, nourishing a forest of immense stature. The stratum of earth is everywhere deep, and continues so without intermission to the foot of these hills.*

Soil of the valleys in Codugu proper.

The soil of the valleys in the upper country is liable to some varieties, that, of the northern and western parts of Codugu proper is a rich dark reddish clay quite devoid of any stony mixture, and remarkable for its powers of production; that of the more southern parts, particularly the Kigguttnaad talook, is of a darker color, sometimes approaching to black, having a slight mixture of sand, and nearly as remarkable for the force, and activity of its vegetation. The singular fecundity for which these parts are remarkable, may in some measure be attributed to the variety of rich vegetable matter, brought down by the torrents from the high grounds in the vicinity of the cultivated lands; to this annual supply may be added their situation, which, generally enchased in the midst of thick forests, are partially shaded by the trees which fringe their borders, which produce a temperature, and retain a moisture, eminently favorable to vegatation; the abundance of water consequent to a mountainous country producing a constant humidity, the lands retain their fertility undiminished, and crops are seldom known to fail.

In Yailsowra, and Nunjarajputtun.

The cultivated lands of Yailsowra possess none of the fertility which characterizes that of the interior, the little barren slopes that border them are incapable of supporting any vegetable substance that could invigorate their soil, which is comparatively superficial and poor, when contrasted with that of the more woody districts; it partakes however, in common with the neighbouring country of Mysore of an ordinary share of fertility.

The above character is, in a great measure, applicable to Nun-

* There are no appearance of marine productions in the soil of the ghauts, nor indeed, in any part of the lower districts, that has come under my observation.

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jarajputtun: towards this part of the eastern boundary, the luxuriance of the forest gradually ceases, and leaves this district champaign. The soil consists generally of a light friable earth, the aspect is similar to that of Mysore, and it is only calculated to produce the dry grain common to that country.

Soil below the ghauts.

The soil below the ghauts is greately diversified, but as a general character is infinitely less fertile, and more superficial than that of the upper country.

Of the high grounds.

Quitting the foot of the ghauts and advancing westward, the deep stratum of earth that covered their sides gives way to the lighter and more stony soil of Sooleeay. The high grounds in these districts have a great mixture of the brick stone rock in their composition (it occasionally appearing in large naked masses) and are everywhere covered with but a thin stratum of earth; the forests of those districts though thick, want the stature and luxuriance of the woods of Codugu proper, they chiefly consist of trees, the native of a meagre soil. Leaving Sooleeay and approaching the sea these woods become still scantier, and the trees and shurbs dwarfish, and stunted; the high swelling slopes assume the form of an elevated table whose surface presents nothing, but one vast sheet of brick stone rock, mostly destitute of soil, except the little that occupies the small crevices of it; this thin coat is rarely of sufficient depth to mature trees of any size.

Of the valleys.

The soil of the valleys resemble that of the more elevated parts, but is more rich, and loamy; that of the rice lands throughout the whole of the lower districts is remarked as decreasing in fertility as it recedes from the sea, the more western parts are consequently the best; the soil of the cultivated valleys of Poottoor is a light reddish colored earth of some depth, having however a substratum of the laterite, that of the valleys of Sooleeay is more superficial and permeable, it is however favorable for the growth of arreca plantations.

Crops above the ghauts.

In Codugu proper, rice is yielded in such lavish abundance by the first crop grown during the periodical rains, as generally speaking, to render a

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second quite unnecessary, particular spots being favorable to artificial irrigation may occasionally be cultivated a second time, but this is by no means common, and the instances are too few to render a particular exception necessary.

In Yailsowra.

In Yailsowra the narrow valleys in which the cultivation is formed are terraced to a considerable extent to admit of its being more enlarged, but it is the lower parts only that have a sufficient supply of water to admit of a second crop, which is always limited in extent, and scanty in produce.

Crops below the ghauts.

The whole of the rice lands below the ghauts yield two crops in the year, and sometimes even three; the steeps by which they are enclosed affording abundance of water for irrigation, the second crop of rice is not unfrequently followed by one of tobacco, dry grain, or some of the various leguminous plants common here.

Return in fold.

Circumstances would not admit of obtaining all those minute particulars, and statements, from which conclusive deduction could be drawn, as to the average return in fold, throughout the country. The observations, that have been made however enable it to be stated with confidence, that in most parts of Codugu proper (particularly the most woody) the general increase may be from 40 to 60 fold, and in extraordinary seasons, the average may approach much nearer a hundred; it would be difficult to imagine a more abundant return, or more highly favored soil.* In Yailsowra they generally reap on the best lands only from 20 to 25 fold, and from 15 to 20 on the betta fields. In Poottoor and about the most western parts, the quality of the ground some times varies, but the average (on the first sort of land) scarcely ever exceeds

* It is stated by Colonel Mahony (sometime resident in Codugu) that "an ordinary soil is said to make a return of 50 fold, increasing it as it improves, it reaches to the amount of a 100 in which latter description the country abounds," I am inclined to believe that this return is much overated. Malabar only yields from 10 to 30. The best arable land in England gives from 10 to 30. Scotland only from 10 to 15. The remarkable fertility of Egypt does not often exceed 50 fold.

25 or 28; approaching the ghauts it gradually becomes more scanty, and in Umr and Sooleeay it only re-pays the labor of cultivation by a return on the best lands of from 10 to 12, and often still less.

Productions of Codugu proper

The chief product of both the upper and lower country a rice; yielded in superfluity it is the principal export, particularly from Codugu proper.

Though well fitted from the soil of the higher grounds, (which has sufficient depth, and not too great a declivity to admit of cultivation) there is in the upper country, but a comparatively small portion of dry grain produced. Raggy so well adapted to the hilly country from the easiness of its culture, is grown only in comparatively small quantities amongst these mountains; tobacco, nuts, ellu and yerrinda *(Palma Christi)* plants cultivated for the purpose of making oil, some little huruli (or horse gram) are grown not however in sufficient abundance to prevent the necessity of importation.

Of Yailsowra and Nunjarajputtun.

Yailsowra principally produces rice; in it however, and Nunjarajputtun, are grown all the dry grains common to Mysore, (wheat is said to be produced in small quantities, but I have never met any) but by no means sufficient to supply the interior. The best tobacco comes from those districts, that of the more woody parts has the character of being indifferent. Yailsowra also produces a very little sugar-cane. Hemp may be added to the products of the upper country, but it is only grown on the worst soil, and in very small quantities.

Vegetable productions are grown in great variety and abundance, the upper country appears particularly favorable to the productions of esculent plants, also fruits, flowers, shrubs, and garden stuffs of every kind, indeed, the temperature and soil of the higher parts, seems well adapted to mature those of a colder climate. Of the fruits, the most remarkable are oranges of different descriptions, all of an excellent quality, they are exceedingly common, as are also limes of various species, citron of an immense size,

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pine apples,* pomegranates, pumplemose, jack, plantains, all in abundance, and of a most luxuriant growth; the other fruits common in this part of India are in profusion, and of a good quality. Turmeric, ginger, a little mustard, and the numerous other kind of condiments used by the natives are also found. Peas, cabbage, potatoes and other European vegetables thrive well, but are not in common use. The betel vine is found in the vicinity of all the ryots houses, the leaf however, is said to be comparatively coarse, much is imported.

Of the forests.

Sandalwood and cardamoms are the most valuable of the spontaneous productions; a more particular account of these articles will be subsequently given, exclusive of them the jungle yields excellent timber, a species of wild nutmeg of good quality, the wild olive, cassia,† gum trees in abundance, wild yams of great size, quantities of wild honey are found, the wax of which belongs to the Circar, and is of some value, the bees producing it are of several species.

The products of these forests extend to a much larger list than is here given, it would however require a long residence amongst them to enumerate them with precision.

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* They may be said to grow almost in a wild state, the plants merely requiring to be placed in the ground, and thriving without much further attention, they renew themselves by a succession of fresh shoots, given out from the older ones, as they decay, they soon acquire new roots, and a bed of those plants has been known to multiply, and furnish fruit regularly during a period of 18 years; they thrive but in rather elevated and dry situations—those grown in Codugu are large, but loosening the ground immediately at the root would increase their natural luxuriance; some of the plants have been known to attain 6 feet in height, a stature every way favorable to the excellence of the fruit.

† The Cassia Lignia or *Laurus, Cassia* is very common throughout the upper country, though made but little, if any use of; the process by which this article is fitted for sale, seems not generally known, or it must have long since been numbered amongst the exports. It is sometimes thus prepared in the neighbouring countries:—the plants when a year old are pruned till only the lower part of the tree remains, fresh shoots spring from the stump which are removed (when they attain the age of 3 years) at the season when the sap has ascended to the summit, the bark is stripped off when they are pliant, and the exterior surface carfully scraped, it is then formed into long rolls and exposed till quite dry to the influence of the sun; these operations may be repeated twice a year, that is in July and February the most favorable time for taking the bark.

Below the ghauts.

In these districts, next to rice, suparee is the principal production. Plantations of it are numerous in Pungee, and parts of Sooleeay and Bullaree; the upper country is entirely supplied with this article from below the ghauts from which is also sent a small quantity of khut (*Terra Japonica*) rice is principally sent to Mangalore. Raggy is cultivated on the hills in Sooleeay to some extent, bearing however no proportion to the quantity of rice grown; tobacco, hurali, some hemp, yerrinda and various kind of pulse are grown on the rice lands, after the second crop has been taken from them; neither vegetables, or fruits are so good, or in such quantities as in the upper country; of the more precious articles pepper is the chief, if indeed, not the principal one; it is found towards the foot of the ghaut that skirt the Sooleeay district; it is also cultivated in the arreca gardens, amongst the products of which betel nut may likewise be reckoned as a principal one. The cocoanut so extremely useful in all its parts is very general throughout the country situated below the ghauts, sugar-cane is also cultivated there, but the quantity of jaggary made is not considerable.

The above enumeration comprises the most prominent productions of its soil, the account given of its manufactures will show, that those of its industry may be contained in a much more limited catalogue.

Agriculture.

The agriculture of Codugu as will readily be supposed is much in the same state as that common throughout most parts of India, a system of rural economy formed at a remote period has been transmitted for ages unchanged, and the cultivator, attached to ancient practices, views with dislike any attempts to innovations.

But an imperfect sketch can here be offered of the agriculture of Codugu. The subject though not connected with anything calculated to excite apprehension, shared nearly the same fate as all others. The infant stage of its advancement however renders it perhaps of but little value as a lesson of experience, though a knowledge of it may be desirable as a statement of facts.

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Of the upper country. The industry of the inhabitants of the upper country, is directed almost exclusively to the cultivation of rice, it is grown only in the low narrow valleys that intervene between the high grounds and which appear every way well calculated for its production.

Lands. These valleys are generally from ¼ to ½ a mile in breadth in the wider parts, becoming however, exceedingly narrow as they run amongst the higher grounds, they are terraced with industry, and their area is always sufficiently large to admit of ploughs being used. The lands into which these valleys are formed are known under two denominations.

First Bylgudday. This is understood as the lowest part of the valley which at most seasons retains some humidity, being occupied by springs, or having a rivulet running through it.

Second Makigudday The fields known under this term are those terraced up the sides of the neighbouring slopes, they depend solely on the supply of rain during the wet season for the success of the crops grown on them, the former is capable from its position of being assisted by artifical irrigation.

Though the upper county thoughout produces rice in the utmost luxuriance, the more central parts may be considered as yielding the most abundant crops, the plants here attaining the greatest size and substance; towards the north the quantity of rain that falls is said to be too great in the southern districts, though the valleys are larger, and more level, the soil is comparatively of an inferior quality.

Ploughing. Husbandry as practised amongst these hills is by no means operose or intricate, the first operetion of it which is termed "Hoanara" begins in Yeddimar when the ploughing commences, the extreme inefficiency of the instruments which enter scarcely beyond the surface, renders a frequent repetition of the operation necessary, so that the fields generally receive from 6 to 7 ploughings before the soil has been sufficiently prepared. The first 3 of these take place when the ground is in a dry state, the

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remainder after a considerable portion of rain is fallen, and when they are dissolved into a soft muddy consistency, no particular period, is considered necessary to intervene between the various ploughings, which are made according to the state of the weather and convenience of the cultivator. The whole operation of ploughing being over, the field is smoothed once or twice with the pala when it is prepared for the reception of the plants.

Manure. The amelioration of the soil seems to be an object of some solicitude. Manure is carefully collected, and distributed; it consists principally of all the excrementious matter of the domestic animals absorbed by the straw and dry leaves with which they are littered, to this is added the soil, and refuse of the house; and indeed, scarce any kind of manure seems to be objectionable. Cattle are confined during the night, and the very hot parts of the day in temporary folds on the lands for the purpose of enriching the soil. In some parts of the lower districts, particularly those occupying the base of the ghauts, the ear of the grain is alone removed leaving the whole of the straw* as stubble, partly for the food of the cattle and partly as manure. The manure is incorporated with the soil in the first and second ploughing, being previously spread in small heaps, over the field; when composed of a mixture of dry branches and leaves, it is burnt on the lands, and the ashes thus procured distributed equally over them.

Species of rice. There are three kinds† of rice cultivated. Doda betta, this is a large grain, and it is that in gene-

* It is a curious circumstance that the houses below the ghauts are never thatched with straw being always covered by the long grass growing in great abundance on the higher grounds.

† It has been an object of enquiry amongst the curious to learn from whence originated the various grains, and if they are now seen in a wild state. This latter question would seem in some measure answered by the circumstance of wild rice being common in some parts of Codugu. In Kigguttnaad many of the smaller valleys are perfect swamps of considerable depth, the texture of the ground is too much broken to admit of the plough, and the general testimony of the Natives would lead to the belief that they never had been cultivated; in the midst of the rank herbage, that covers these swamps small crops of wild rice is frequently seen, the stocks are high, but excessively thin, and the grain very diminitive; the ear is bearded like the barley; when boiled it is of a rather bluish tinge, and not marked by any particular flavour. It is called paundawar butta or the rice of paundoo, and only eaten by the very lowest classes.

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ral use with the majority of the inhabitants, and what is principally exported. Dunna betta a small and finer kind; and kissara a red species are also shown, but both in very small quantities.

Sowing.

The whole of the rice ground in the upper country is transplanted, but the management anterior to this process, that is rearing the seedlings is as follows:—by legudday fields are chosen for the reception of the seed, their preparation is after the manner as stated above with but little difference, a greater portion of manure, however, being generally allowed. The sowing commences in 'Caudear' or as near that period as the state of the weather will permit, but the season of sowing influenced by circumstances, sometimes extends to a month longer. The seed is of course sown broad cast and very thick; it is prepared by being steeped in water for a short time, and then placed in a heap, it is kept damp for three days; when beginning to vegetate it is prepared for sowing. The fields being now in a muddy state, it sinks for a short way into the soil which is only kept sufficiently moist, water being but scantily supplied till it has taken root, when the quantity is gradually increased, the seedling sown germinates, and at the end of 35 or 40 days it attains nearly a foot in height and is then fit for transplantation.

Naty or transplantation.

The period of transplantation begins in 'Audry' and ends in 'Kuckayray.' On the removal of the seedlings they are transplanted over the whole space intended for the cultivation of rice; this mode is considered as best adapted to resist the violence of the rain and in other points of view is reckoned to have advantages, and seems particularly calculated for a rich soil. The transplantation is managed with great care, 6 or 7 stocks connected together from one plant—these plants are arranged in regular lines and have a space of about 6 inches between the roots of each, this admits the air, and heat, and gives them full room for all the luxuriance of vegetation. The holes in which they are placed are readily made with the finger in the damp earth, and the roots soon become settled; grounds thus planted are found to produce com-

paratively few weeds, and what there are, can be easily removed. Immediately after transplantation, the field (for a short time only being kept damp) is inundated, and continued overflown with from 6 to 7 inches of water till within 8 or 10 days before harvest, the plant during this time being in a state of semi-immersion.

Weeding. The fields undergo only one weeding; this takes place generally six weeks after transplantation; an abundant supply of water retards their growth they are removed by manual labour. The crops generally are not liable to miscarriage or sickliness; in the early part of their growth they are subject to the attacks of several species of worms, to extirpate which all the powers of charms and spells are called into action, but are not always found of sufficient efficacy. They are also open to the depredation of mountain mice, and attract flocks of graminivorous birds; both these evils however are readily guarded against.

Harvest. This is termed Beullay, the crop of rice sown here generally takes full 5 months before arriving at maturity. It ripens in the more open parts at the commencement of December, perhaps a short time sooner, but in the deep and sheltered valleys, not till the end of that month, or till the beginning of January; when cut, it remains two or three days on the field to dry, and is then trodden out of the ear by bullocks. The grain intended for seed is carefully preserved, that for consumption after having been boiled (which facilitates their removal) the husks are beaten off, the rice is kept in large baskets having the exterior covered with a coating made of a mixture of cow-dung and mud; the crop is reaped with the ordinary sickle.

The straw answers numerous domestic purposes, thatching, food for the cattle, &c. It grows to a great height, generally reaching 4 feet.

Cultivation of Yailsowra. The cultivation of Yailsowra differs but in few particulars from what has just been stated. Transplanting is not generally practiced, the seed is sown broad cast in most instances. The Coorg is however also

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used. In this latter case, the fields are always ploughed in a dry state, and the seed sown on them requires no preparation. The pala closely following the drill, covers the seed as it falls from it.

Of Nunjarajaputtun.

Nunjarajaputtun is the small district lying along the western banks of the Cauvery, it is the only part that produces any abundance of dry grain. In it are cultivated those common in the open country; raggy, auvaray, tovaray, udu, huruli, and ellu &c. The ordinary management observed in rearing these grains differs in nothing from the process common in Mysore, which is so well known as not here to require a repetition of it.

The Hills are subject to coomary cultivation, of however no very considerable extent. Raggy is the only grain sown on them, this cultivation is performed by the lowest castes generally the periodical servants of the aborigines, who themselves never assist in it, their labors being exclusively confined to the lower grounds. The course of management observed in this species of husbandry is subject to few variations; the detail of it will not here require any particular mention, it exactly resembles that prevailing below the ghauts.

Cultivation below the ghauts.

The lands of the lower district on which rice is cultivated are divided into three kinds:—

Lands.

First Byloo.—This is the lowest part of the valley and capable of being artificially irrigated, they are the most valuable, yielding two and frequently three crops during the year; they form a considerable portion of the cultivated lands.

Second Majula.—The fields thus denominated are situated higher up than the former, are capable of being partially irrigated in the event of a failure of the annual supply of rain, but not to the extent of producing two crops—one, if the wet season be at all favorable, is looked on as certain.

Third Betta.—Are situated on the higher parts of the slope connected with the lands just mentioned, the success of the crops

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sown on them is very precarious as they are not capable of being in any way assisted by artificial irrigation.

In the country below the ghauts, from 7 to 9 ploughings are necessary, the period for their commencement and close, is fixed within rather wide limits, depending on the season, and nature of the intended crop; the operations of husbandry however may be said to commence by the 15th of Puggoo (latter end of April) and end at the close of Baysha (15th June) the first and second ploughing but imperfectly opens the ground; no particular period is allowed to pass between the different repetitions of this operation, it being regulated by accident, the nature of the weather, &c. At the close of the third ploughing the banks of the fields are rendered capable of retaining the water; and after the fourth and fifth arrotion it is soft and muddy; it is again twice ploughed, and carefully smoothed by the pala, (or plank) after this it is again inundated, and the water being allowed to remain a short time, it receives the last ploughing and is finally smoothed by the above instrument. The preparation of the majula differs in few particulars from the above, the labor only being somewhat more operose. The betta or highest fields are managed after a similar manner, the first three ploughings are in a dry state, and as the season is favorable they receive in succession six further ones, the operation of smoothing them taking place nearly as often.

Manure. Every kind is collected, the cattle are littered every evening with fresh leaves which are removed every 15 or 20 days, this is further increased by the soil of the house. Bushes and dry leaves of every kind are collected, and burnt on the fields.

Sowing. The seed is in general sown broad cast, transplantation is however sometimes adopted for the byloo and majula lands, but the betta fields requiring to be sooner sown, are unfit for this species of cultivation; the preparation of the seed sown for transplanting differs in but few instances, it is mixed with a portion of cow-dung and water, and left for three days to vegetate, being kept for this time always in a damp state; the byloo land is generally chosen to rear the seedlings, it is sown broad cast, and exceedingly

thick, the field is inundated, but the water drawn of at intervals to promote vegetation, but as the plants grow up they are always kept a third part covered with it; they are capable of being transplanted after the 30th or 40th day; this mode on the whole is considered expensive and laborious, and is only practiced where the number of labourers are numerous. When the fields are sown broad cast, the seed is prepared in the manner similar to that just mentioned, except when their positions are particularly swampy; thus situated the seed is sown dry. Seed intended for transplantation is generally sown by the 20th of Baysha and transplanted by the 10th or 20th of Catiallu.

Weeding. Takes place in the month of Attee, it is an expensive operation, and not often repeated, a scarcity of water never fails to produce a great number of them, (weeds) they do not grow to any considerable size, a species of creeper of the grass kind is most destructive and troublesome.

Crops. It may be generally said that more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the fields below the ghauts yield two crops in the season; the majula, though not the whole of it, gives one of paddy, and another of dry grain: the byloogudday two of rice, the last crop is greatly inferior to the first.

Harvest. Harvest is here considerably earlier than above the ghauts. It generally takes place about the latter end of October.

Coomaray cultivation. A considerable portion of the hills of the lower districts are subject to this cultivation, it is mostly practiced by the lower Mahratta castes, some hill rice is also grown by them; the preparation of the ground in both instances is something similar. This species of cultivation (raggy) though not immediately confined to these districts is more common in them than the country above, this arises more from the nature of the inhabitants than the soil of the hills, which is extremely well adapted to it.

Hill rice. The soil favorable to this culture is a reddish mould with a small mixture of pebbles; the declivity of the hill must not be great, as in such a case the violent rains here would wash away the earth. Those hills covered with a thick forest of ancient growth are unfavorable, a jungle of moderate density, and if 13 or 14 years old, unites every desirable requisite.

The agricultural operations of this part of rural economy are few and simple: a favorable spot is fixed on, the jungle is cut between Durmiar and Malliar, and burnt in Coombiar, it is surrounded by a strong hedge, and the business of sowing commences in Yeddimiar, this is done broad cast, after which the surface is superficially dug up by the kokay, it undergoes two slight weedings during the three succeeding months, it ripens about the sixth, and is cut in kunniar. A second crop is rarely sown the following year when however, ellu, huruli, tovaray, &c, are grown in its place, the latter is frequently scatered throughout the rice crop, and occasionlly sown in a straight line to answer the purpose of a boundary between the fields of different possessors. Hill rice gives a return of about 10 fold, the grain is small and of a reddish color.

This cultivation is precarious, and the husbandman cannot look with confidence to the re-payment of his labor.

Raggy. The preparation for the raggy or natchenny cultivation, as has been said is similar with the former, and differs but little as to the situation or soil required. A period of from 7 to 12 years is allowed to elapse generally before ground once cultivated, again becomes useful; such a long one would seem unnecessary, but the natives conceive a large quantity of wood must be burnt to produce fertility: its return in fold, in favorable seasons, may be from two to three hundred. It may be remarked that raggy in this country is more a subsidiary cultivation than one exclusively followed. It is in no instance the general food of any part of the inhabitants.

Areca plantations. The culture of the areca nut forms an important part of the husbandry below the ghauts. This beautiful and useful palm will not thrive in the upper

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country; no very detailed account will be required, as to the formation and management of the areca plantations, the gardens are only made in the hilly grounds (the small sheltered glens of which they occupy); they require a red and rather gravelly soil, any change in this particular affecting sensibly the quality of the nut; a constant supply of water is one of the first requisites in the formation of the areca garden. This palm begins to bear about the 9th or 10th year, and continues to yield fruit for sometimes 40 years. The harvest occurs in November; pepper is grown in all the areca plantations in which are also a number of fruit trees.

Character of the cultivation, obstacles, &c.

It will be seen that the general system together with the minutiæ it embraces, is not dissimilar from the common course observed in the neighbouring countries; those prejudices in favor of old habits, and that aversion to innovation of any kind which forms so remarkable a feature in the character of the Hindoo, have here lost none of their force, but continue to present an effectual resistance to all improvements, which science or experience might suggest, and are the chief obstacles which agriculture has to encounter. Weak and inefficient instruments of husbandry, want of wheel carriage, and the numberless wild animals to whose attacks the crops are liable, are impediments of minor consideration. The want of capital must necessarily retard the progress of improvement, but above all, that contented indolence and apathy which renders it the first aim of the Farmer, (and few Indian ones aspire beyond it) to secure a subsistence, rather than a competence, necessarily opposes the introduction of any change from the old routine, as that sanctioned by the experience of their forefathers is found capable of supplying their few wants.

Though the course of management adopted is prescribed by prejudice, yet, when the rudeness of the implements are considered, it is a subject of wonder that the cultivation is not more imperfect.

The rich qualities of their lands, for whose valuable properties however, they are entirely indebted to nature, recompenses for the imperfections of their system of agriculture. It must not be inferred how-

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ever that the Codugu farmer exhibits any remarkable want of skill in this particular, he is by no means inferior to his neighbours and possessing an equal if not greater share of industry, he derives considerable advantages from his central situation; living in the midst of his fields, he is able to bestow on them, a more careful attention and superintendence, than the husbandman of the open country, who, residing in villages, has frequently to go some distance to his lands.

The general system observed would doubtless admit of great amelioration, the fertility of the arable lands below the ghauts is dissipated by constant tillage, one crop is scarcely taken off, before another is sown, and though the lands of the upper country are not subject to a similar course of exhaustion, better means than those adopted could be pursued to augment their fertility (already great) and call it more effectually into action. The benefits of fallow are unknown, and consequently this is never practised, no variety of crop (in Codugu proper) is grown on the cultivated lands, nor indeed, is the climate or soil well adapted to any other than rice.

The agriculture of Codugu, and it may be said that of the lower districts extends to no variety of production; rice is the staple one, of which much more is grown, than can be consumed: the low lands of Codugu proper yield as has been observed no other article; they seem unfavorable to the growth of sugar-cane, which is not often met with; this is produced in Yailsowra, but the cultivation of it is limited, it is more extensive below the ghauts, but even there is not grown upon a large scale. Tobacco is grown in the upper country for domestic use, and is inferior to that of Mysore; below the ghauts it is in great abundance, and some of it is exported. This plant is sown in small beds richly manured, it is subsequently transplanted, and requires some care; it is grown always on the low slopes close to the houses of the ryots; a little Shanapu, or hemp is also grown, principally for its fibres, from which ropes are manufactured, but the natives are said to have the pernicious habit of eating its leaves, remarkable for their intoxicating quality. A small quantity of wheat is said to be grown in the more open parts. The fruits common to the country have already been mentioned, and there is every appearance of probability, that many of those of Europe might be introduced with success; all idea of experiments however

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is foreign to a native. Ginger, and turmeric require a rich soil, and much care, the culture of them is limited. All cucurbitacious plants thrive with uncommon luxuriance; as to medicinal or vulnerary herbs, none of any particular merit have come within my observation. It will not be necessary to enumerate the various other vegetable productions commonly known, they are the same as those general throughout the surrounding countries, being however of a larger growth.

Agricultural Instruments.

The agricultural instruments common in Codugu are exceedingly few, and those of the rudest kind.

From the make of the plough it will be seen that it is but ill calculated for the office to which it is applied, and to its extreme inefficiency must be attributed the necessity that exists of so frequently repeating the operation which it performs. One person only attends a plough, the bullocks draw double, and are coupled by a yoke on which the beam rests, and to which it is fastened by a cord. The harness, yoke, &c., are all equally wretched with the instrument itself, whose extreme cost does not exceed one Rupee; the value of the oxen attached to it however may reach to that of 5 Pagodas.

The tahway or pallay is generally an ordinary plank in which iron staples are fixed, two cords fastened in them, connected with the yoke by which the oxen are coupled, complete this rude instrument; it is made to answer all the purposes of the harrow. The driver standing on it adds to the efficacy of the operation, and after repeatedly passing over the surface it is enabled to pulverize, and smooth the lands.

The Codugus have no farming utensils peculiar to themselves; the goodalee or hoe, also the cutty or sickle common in the neighbouring countries are in general use here, the former performs all the offices of the spade; the latter equally answering a variety of purposes.

Carts of any description are unknown in Codugu. Baskets are used when it is required to transport earth, or manure from one place to another.

The primitive and wretched state in which we find the agricultural instruments is perhaps more attributable to the rude simplicity which characterizes the Hindoo, than any inability or want of means to improve them.

Register of the Villages in the Codugu Survey, showing the particular Bearing and Distances of each from the nearest Trigonometrical Station.

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
	YAILSOWRA TALOOK, CONTAINS 12 HOBELYS.							
	Coadley Hobely ...							
	Coodoolnor do ...							
	Hoolacode do ...							
	Bembulloor do ...							
	Bulla do ...							
	Connagaul do ...							
	Hanugoad do ...							
	Doadhully Gowdhully Hobely ...							
	Nerrootod do ...							
	Menesedda do ...							
	Mooloor do ...							
	Gunnagoor do ...							
Coadley Hobely.	Humpapoora ...	Maullimby.	N. W.	8	52	11	3	192
	Santapoora ...	do.	„	13	0	10	6	160
	Kella Coadley ...	do.	„	4	52	10	6	190
	Dood Coadley ...	do.	„	5	45	10	4	0
	Arrakunhully ...	do.	„	9	15	10	3	0
	Kussoor ...	do.	„	13	30	10	3	0
	Hosohully ...	do.	„	13	30	10	0	20
	Kulhully ...	do.	„	13	15	9	4	55
	Mullypoora ...	do.	„	154	52	9	3	0
	Kirra Coadley ...	do.	N.	0	0	9	1	110
	Kirugunhully ...	do.	N. W.	5	0	9	1	110
	Nandypoora ...	do.	„	8	22	9	0	38
	Mulhully ...	do.	„	5	45	8	3	7
	Kathay ...	do.	„	13	30	8	5	107
	Ichillapoora ...	do.	„	9	45	8	6	55
	Oorgooty ...	do.	„	14	30	7	5	55
	Raminhully ...	do.	„	3	37	8	5	110

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Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Coodooloor Hobely,	Coodooloor ...	Maullimby.	N. E.	9	30	8	0	210
	Niergoonda ...	do.	„	4	52	9	4	7
	Conaginhully ...	do.	„	11	37	8	6	82
	Buswanhully ...	do.	„	9	30	8	7	110
	Honaycoday ...	do.	„	8	37	9	2	180
	Ippugullullay ...	do.	„	12	0	9	6	55
	Cuttaypoora ...	do.	„	17	37	9	7	0
	Augullay	do.	„	27	0	9	7	190
	Nellawaugulloo ...	do.	„	18	52	8	2	137
	Chick Bundara ...	do.	„	18	7	7	6	162
	Dooda Bundara ...	do.	„	13	52	7	3	55
	Hemmaney	do.	„	9	22	7	2	210
	Coragal	do.	„	7	0	7	2	60
	Bairagoola	do.	N. W.	2	0	8	0	192
	Dood Coonda... ...	do.	N. E.	3	7	8	2	105
	Chick Coonda... ...	do.	„	4	30	8	5	10
	Bittugunhully ...	do.	„	12	22	7	6	27
	Lukkunnil	do.	„	6	30	7	5	155
	Baisoor	do.	„	15	22	8	0	162
	Horahully	do.	„	7	15	8	0	0
	Tauloor	do.	„	12	0	6	3	120
	Maugudahully ...	do.	„	2	45	9	7	192
	Mullugunhully ...	do.	„	4	30	10	1	182
	Junnairdanhully ...	do.	„	8	22	10	2	177
	Mawinhully... ...	do.	„	6	15	9	0	0
	Kayraykayray ...	do.	„	7	15	8	0	82
Hoolacoda Hobely.	Hoolacode	do.	„	3	30	6	6	15
	Cunnugulloo... ...	do.	„	3	0	5	6	7
	Munniegillay... ...	do.	„	13	52	5	6	177
	Hullybyloo	do.	„	17	37	5	7	110
	Beechunhully.... ...	do.	„	5	37	5	3	47
	Bettadhully	do.	„	8	45	5	3	205
	Hossapoora	do.	„	21	45	5	4	110
	Hebbulshay	do.	„	17	52	4	7	67
	Sumpaguddhaloo ...	do.	„	23	52	4	6	55
	Nakullagoodoo ...	do.	N. W.	1	52	5	4	110
	Ourydhalloo	do.	N. E.	3	0	6	1	77
	Kittoor	do.	„	19	30	6	5	165

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Bembulloor Hobely.	Bembulloor	Maullimby.	N. W.	11	37	7	2	115
	Shiwurhully	do.	„	3	5	6	7	142
	Kirrukanhully ...	do.	„	10	15	6	7	55
	Toallagoor	do.	„	11	37	6	4	110
	Harahully	do.	„	10	7	6	0	55
	Baugayray	do.	„	8	45	5	4	192
	Cunnarhully	do.	„	3	7	7	5	142
	Moodrawully.... ...	do.	„	5	7	5	2	110
Bulla Hobely.	Bulla	do.	„	22	37	6	4	152
	Chennapoora	do.	„	20	37	7	3	0
	Keeraybulla	do.	„	18	0	7	1	0
	Madray	do.	„	23	30	6	2	142
	Dundhully	do.	„	29	22	6	3	27
	Hosohully	do.	„	28	15	6	0	165
	Seera	do.	„	14	45	6	3	162
	Caudjoor	do.	„	20	37	5	0	215
	Chicka Kolatoor ...	do.	„	25	37	4	4	207
	Appusuthully ...	do.	„	28	0	3	7	55
	Jobacoday	do.	„	23	45	4	7	162
	Yedhully	do.	„	34	45	5	3	195
	Dood Kolatoor... ...	do.	„	31	15	5	0	192
	Chukunhully	do.	„	35	30	5	0	105
	Koojugayray	do.	„	23	37	5	5	0
	Gowndhully	do.	„	20	0	4	4	160
	Sooligullulay	do.	„	8	45	5	3	0
	Halcunnay	do.	„	14	22	5	1	10
	Biddiroor	do.	„	8	45	4	1	192
	Wodaitapoora... ...	do.	„	5	0	3	3	110
	Kenkayray	do.	„	20	22	3	0	192
	Madaygoodoo... ...	do.	„	19	15	2	4	192
	Chittugunhully. ...	do.	„	22	30	3	3	92
	Hemmaney	do.	„	12	30	4	0	143
	Serengaula	do.	N. E.	6	45	4	3	37
	Hundlay	do.	„	15	22	4	1	162
	Hoolshay	do.	N. W.	2	0	4	3	27
	Bellarhully	do.	N. E.	4	30	4	6	55
	Kayrayhully	do.	N. W.	6	7	4	6	152
	Goodoogullulay ...	do.	„	2	0	4	0	142
	Gopullapoora	do.	„	15	52	3	2	37
	Soguhully	do.	„	14	30	5	6	0

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Nirrootoda Hobely. Doadhully Gowdhully Hobely. Hanugoad Hobely. Connagaul Hobely.	Connagaul ...	Maullimby	S. E.	18	27	2	1	82
	Chicka Connagaul ...	do.	„	18	27	2	4	137
	Auloor ...	do.	„	49	52	2	7	110
	Kuntabuswanhully ...	do.	„	19	30	1	5	137
	Kittulagudday ...	do.	„	6	0	1	7	17
	Bunnawarra ...	do.	„	24	30	4	2	0
	Seedapoora ...	do.	„	41	45	2	4	27
	Doadhully ...	do.	N. E.	15	30	3	0	57
	Hanugoad ...	do.	S. W.	44	30	4	0	82
	Doda Maloota ...	do.	„	34	52	3	4	132
	Gudjay-Hanugoad ...	do.	„	59	15	3	4	110
	Addagulhully ...	do.	„	52	30	4	4	205
	Heereekora ...	do.	„	30	52	1	7	110
	Koogeecoadu ...	do.	„	39	45	2	6	182
	Hoenawully ...	do.	„	45	15	3	5	62
	Sooly Mullattee ...	do.	„	22	22	3	0	0
	Doadhully Gowdhully	do.	S. W.	88	0	1	3	205
	Buswanacopooloo ...	do.	N. W.	75	30	1	3	205
	Heggoola ...	do.	S. W.	88	0	1	1	162
	Hallysuntabaray ...	do.	N. W.	69	15	1	0	110
	Chinnapoora ...	do.	S. W.	44	37	2	2	55
	Coogoor ...	do.	„	25	0	1	1	192
	Shevapoora ...	do.	„	61	52	2	4	192
	Harohully ...	do.	„	62	0	2	1	62
	Adjyhully ...	do.	„	70	15	1	3	165
	Goandhully ...	do.	N. W.	19	52	5	4	145
	Mungaloor ...	do.	S. W.	85	15	2	4	125
	Chickarra ...	do.	„	24	22	1	5	110
	Soonty ...	do.	„	71	7	2	6	37
	Karlehully ...	do.	N. W.	86	52	2	5	10
	Nirrootoda ...	do.	N. E.	21	30	2	5	110
	Hittulakayray ...	do.	„	2	7	2	6	165
	Hoonshaykye ...	do.	„	10	45	2	4	192
	Doodhully ...	do.	„	15	52	3	0	55
	Siddagullulay ...	do.	„	20	45	3	5	147
	Harroor Hossoor ...	do.	„	6	45	4	0	48
	Showdinhully ...	do.	„	6	43	3	2	87
	Cooroodawully ...	do.	N. W.	14	37	1	3	27

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Nirvutoda (*contd.*)	Nundygoondy ...	Maullimby.	N. W.	38	0	1	1	135
	Naguwulla ...	do.	N. E.	62	0	2	5	110
	Raminhully ...	do.	N. W.	25	45	1	4	165
	Joginhully ...	do.	N. E.	15	30	2	3	105
Menesedda Hobely.	Menesedda ...	do.	N. E.	46	37	3	7	27
	Gunguwar ...	do.	"	43	0	4	3	195
	Unkunhully ...	do.	"	49	15	4	1	115
	Katinhully ...	do.	"	25	7	3	6	110
	Shigamurroor ...	do.	"	57	30	4	1	38
	Boodabumhully	do.	"	62	0	3	2	95
	Kysurawully ...	do.	"	49	30	4	4	197
	Bettadhully ...	do.	"	40	0	3	7	27
	Mibatapoora ...	do.	"	52	22	3	3	60
	Ummully ...	do.	"	62	0	3	3	165
Mooloor Hobely.	Mooloor ...	do.	"	31	45	2	0	192
	Maullimby ...	do.	S. E.	56	30	1	0	110
	Adapunahosohully ...	do.	"	87	52	2	2	165
	Bouwanhully ...	do.	"	75	30	1	4	0
	Karagode ...	do.	N. E.	23	30	1	5	0
	Haurohully ...	do.	"	51	15	2	0	165
	Hosagooty ...	do.	"	78	30	2	2	62
Gunnagoot Hobely.	Gunnagoor ...	do.	S. W.	2	0	4	0	165
	Ounjigenhully ...	do.	S. E.	14	45	3	3	55
	Yeddawoondy ...	do.	"	10	0	4	0	165
	Goonimurroor ...	do.	"	10	0	4	4	110
	Naguwully ...	do.	"	3	22	3	5	110
	Sungainpoora ...	do.	"	24	30	3	6	27
	Audy Naudoor ...	do.	"	5	45	6	4	165
	Baugayray ...	do.	"	13	15	5	7	110

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CODUGU PROPER, CONTAINS 20 NAADS.

Nunjarajputtun	Naad.	
Yeddooa	do.	
Thawa	do.	
Gudday	do.	
Oolagoolee Moodagayree	do.	
Hoaroor Nooruckkul	do.	
Soorlaby Moothoo	do.	
Hahlayray Buddugayray	do.	
Muddukayray Horomullay	do.	
Paudy Naku	do.	
Kuddutthu	do.	
Hoodoogayray Moondapum	do.	
Bayngu	do.	
Byru	do.	Yedday Naku Naad.
Yedday	do.	
Hirrooa	do.	
Baithoally	do.	
Ammuthu	do.	
Baypu	do.	
Kooyeangayray	do.	
Kuggoadloo	do.	
Bettieth	do.	
Kaunthamoor	do.	

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Nunjarajputtun Naad.	Sidilingipoora ...	Maullimby.	S. E.	27.	37	5	2	110
	Chick Aulwar ...	do.	"	24	37	7	2	82
	Dodda Aulwar ...	do.	"	21	45	7	7	20
	Andanypoora ...	do.	"	24	7	7	6	115
	Hossocotta ...	do.	"	23	0	8	3	110
	Haulaygootay ...	Codergurrahully.	N. E.	37	0	7	4	27
	Causulgodi ...	do.	"	43	0	8	1	55
	Murroor ...	do.	"	43	0	7	3	55
	Hebbaully ...	do.	"	51	7	8	1	197
	Torianoor ...	Maullimby.	S. E.	36	27	9	6	55
	Guddayhosohully ...	do.	"	37	27	9	1	137
	Munjoor ...	do.	"	41	0	8	0	165
	Seringala ...	do.	"	46	30	9	3	192
	Chicka Naikana Hosohully ...	do.	"	38	37	7	7	165
	Nelloor ...	do.	"	46	37	8	0	115
	Hoolsha ...	Codergurrahully.	N. E.	51	7	7	1	82
	Ramapoor or Ramasamy Cunnawye ...	do.	"	51	7	6	3	165
	Bawanugorri ...	do.	"	51	7	6	0	165
	Heggarhully ...	do.	"	53	7	5	6	137
	Bayraycotay ...	do.	"	40	0	5	0	55
	Siraholaloo ...	do.	"	41	0	4	4	865
	Coodigay ...	do.	"	57	27	5	4	77
	Hooloogoonda ...	do.	"	32	30	3	2	0
	Chick Attoor ...	do.	"	43	15	3	5	77
	Dooda Attoor ...	do.	"	49	45	4	3	0
	Mungaloor ...	do.	"	63	15	5	2	87
	Coodooloor ...	do.	"	72	15	5	2	27
	Goomunakooli ...	do.	"	81	45	5	1	27
	Moolaysogay ...	do.	"	86	27	5	0	197
	Byckanhully ...	do.	"	89	45	4	4	87
	Madaputna ...	do.	S. E.	88	15	3	3	110
	Bulloor ...	do.	"	79	30	2	6	0
	Buswanhully ...	do.	"	66	15	2	2	55
	Bettagerri ...	do.	"	46	52	2	5	192
	Balagode ...	Seedasweer	N. W.	40	30	6	6	110

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Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Nunjanajputtun Naad Cont.	Rungasamoodra ...	Seedasweer.	N. W.	52	7	6	0	0
	Veerapaugshapoora ...	do.	„	53	27	5	4	125
	Hosoputna ...	do.	„	58	0	5	3	110
	Nunjarajputtun ...	Nooruckkul	S. E.	86	15	5	4	205
	Koombarhully ...	Soobramuhni	N. E.	76	45	3	6	197
Yeddoor Naad.	Kothanhully ...	do.	S. E.	67	7	3	4	22
	Bettaduhully ...	Hurrugul	N. W.	21	7	2	5	127
	Koondhully ...	do.	„	2	15	2	5	142
	Santhully ...	do.	N. E.	34	0	1	3	110
	Hosohully ...	Maullimby.	S. E.	2	30	7	0	95
	Hurruguggamungala or Hurrugul ...	Hurrugul	S. W.	48	45	0	5	165
	Thulluturra Chuthully.	do.	S. E.	57	15	2	5	27
	Butchully Hosohully Chuthully ...	do.	N. E.	86	15	2	5	60
	Hanagul Chuthully ...	do.	S. E.	74	45	3	1	155
	Yeddoor ...	do.	„	88	45	3	2	0
	Hanagul ...	do.	„	74	45	3	5	0
	Kaulkundoor ...	do.	„	83	0	3	6	210
	Hossobeudoo ...	do.	N. E.	72	22	2	6	197
	Doodoo Tholoor ...	do.	„	50	45	3	4	55
	Chuthully ...	do.	„	34	30	3	4	162
	Kooteyerradhunta ...	do.	„	10	7	3	7	140
	Chicku Tholoor ...	Maullimby.	S. W.	83	27	3	5	110
	Chowduloor ...	Hurrugul.	S. E,	75	30	4	2	165
	Nagurroor ...	do.	„	70	15	4	2	55
	Bullagoonda ...	do.	„	62	30	5	2	0
	Kusboor. ...	do.	„	59	30	6	1	37
	Mussagoad ...	Maullimby.	S. W.	24	45	5	4	106
	Kibbutta ...	do.	„	37	45	4	5	42
	Harohully ...	do.	„	27	30	4	2	110
	Woalligoonda ...	do.	„	14	37	4	3	37
	Bucturhully ...	do.	„	7	7	5	0	82
	Dood Ubboor ...	do.	„	11	22	5	3	137
	Chick Ubboor ...	do.	„	7	7	5	4	137
	Nairgullulay ...	do.	„	1	2	5	7	10
	Ittulumukki ...	do.	S. E.	0	45	6	2	165
	Nagullalu Kurkhully...	do.	S. W.	20	45	6	2	82

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Yeddoor naad	Hurroor ...	Maullimby.	S. W.	5	7	6	6	110
	Nairlay ...	do.	„	3	52	7	3	0
	Yellakanoor ...	Codergurrahully.	N. E.	13	52	6	2	177
	Bayloor Buswanhully..	Hurrugul.	S. E.	49	0	7	2	175
Thawa Naad.	Hoodoogooroo ...	Codergurrahully.	N. E.	24	15	3	6	165
	Currikay ...	Payrahjee.	S. W.	72	15	2	2	110
	Payrahjee ...	do.	N. W.	12	45	2	7	0
	Chembinney ...	Tháoor.	„	7	15	4	0	55
	Sumpajee ...	Moodapaudu.	S. W.	12	37	3	6	197
	Thunnamuhni ...	Tháoor.	„	66	30	1	4	165
	Thaoor ...	do.	„	39	27	0	7	55
	Baughamundla ...	do.	N. W.	30	37	1	6	27
	Sayrungaul ...	do.	„	32	30	3	0	110
	Korungaul ...	do.	S. E.	2	27	2	3	95
	Suringullay ...	Hurrugul.	„	1	37	4	2	0
	Mouttakkooloo ...	do.	„	4	„	5	5	102
	Belligayray ...	do.	„	18	7	4	2	0
	Thaukayray ...	do.	„	28	22	2	2	182
Gudday Naad.	Chickkuhrriday ...	Codergurrahully.	N. W.	36	15	6	1	182
	Jumboor ...	do.	„	53	30	6	4	97
	Gurrugundoor ...	do.	„	46	20	5	0	0
	Koomboor ...	do.	„	44	15	6	4	55
	Hahdaygayray ...	do.	„	61	45	7	0	192
	Yerrakoula ...	Hurrugul.	S. W.	31	32	4	4	165
	Gurruwully ...	do.	„	3	„	3	5	0
	Kirrigundoor ...	do.	S. E.	37	45	5	0	27
	Hahringy ...	Codergurrahully.	N. W.	26	54	5	0	100
	Kirrudurray ...	Hurrugul.	S. E.	12	30	5	2	110
Oolagoollee Moodagayree Naad.	Andagoowye ...	Codergurrahully.	S. W.	89	52	1	5	110
	Kulloor ...	do.	N. E.	22	37	0	5	0
	Uttoor ...	do.	S. W.	56	52	3	6	110
	Nakoor ...	do.	N. W.	41	27	3	4	27
	Codergurrahully ...	do.	S. W.	63	„	2	0	55
	Maugadoor ...	Noorkul.	N. E.	59	15	4	2	200

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Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Mils.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Colagoollu Moo-	Oolagoollee ...	Codergurra-hully.	N. W.	78	7	4	0	27
Hoaroor Noorakul Naad. dagayree Naad.	Bulloor ...	do.	„	87	30	3	4	197
	Shanabogunhully ...	do.	„	56	45	3	4	0
	Baychunhully ...	do.	„	83	7	3	2	110
	Hurroodoor ...	do.	„	56	52	4	4	50
	Bettagayray ...	do.	„	65	52	5	0	200
	Mukkundoor ...	Noorkul.	N. W.	29	30	6	2	27
	Nurrugunni Oomait...	do.	„	33	30	7	2	37
	Hadukulloonaigud-hallu ...	Codergurra-hully.	„	89	52	5	1	137
	Ibburnywullawaddy...	Muddukayray.	S. E.	83	0	2	0	0
	Kayddackadhala ...	Noorkul.	N. W.	65	15	2	4	177
	Moadoor ...	do.	„	7	45	2	0	110
	Hoaroor ...	do.	„	4	7	2	6	147
	Wallamoady ...	do.	N. E.	39	30	1	2	10
	Irrullay ...	do.	„	7	45	1	3	10
	Chayrullay ...	do.	„	76	0	1	4	205
	Sirimungaulla ...	do.	S. E.	40	7	1	5	0
Soorlaby Mootoor Naad.	Niddoowuttoo.. ...	Muddukay-ray.	N. W.	9	15	5	0	0
	Kaulloor	do.	„	18	0	7	1	55
	Hummeela	Soobramuhni.	S. E.	10	45	6	4	135
	Moatloo	do.	„	30	0	6	6	55
	Koombaraguddigay ...	do.	„	42	45	5	2	42
	Munkeea	do.	„	48	52	6	0	72
	Kikkurhully	do.	„	55	7	4	6	15
	Soorlaby	do.	„	37	44	6	3	192
Hahlayray Biddugayray Naad.	Hahlayray Thayrum-bulley ..	Codergurra-hully.	N. W.	88	30	6	0	165
	Kuddhundaula ...	Cotay Betta.	S. E.	28	7	4	6	95
	Aarcopa	do.	„	21	7	5	5	27
	Kaundanuquilly ...	do.	„	31	15	5	3	55
	Bettikayraymayluth-auloo ...	do.	„	15	37	3	0	70
	Hemmuthauloo ...	do.	„	15	52	4	0	197
	Mookodulloo ...	do.	S. W.	9	52	2	4	65
	Hodhokaunah ...	do.	S. E.	25	30	3	3	192
	Auwundee	do.	S. W.	31	37	1	5	110

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Muddukayray Horomullay Naad.	Kurrunangayray ...	Muddukayray.	N. W.	8	15	9	4	110
	Kurruwullay ...	do.	„	39	30	1	5	110
	Hebbuthegayray ...	do.	„	16	30	2	0	30
	Naidulluwunnuchullu	do.	„	39	30	6	4	110
	Kullukayray Niddugunnie	do.	„	32	„	2	4	165
	Horomullay	do.	„	43	30	3	6	55
	Gauleebeudoo ...	do.	„	45	„	4	3	0
	Muddumbeela ...	do.	N. E.	18	45	2	1	190
Paudy Naku Naad.	Napoakle	Todiandamale.	N. E.	34	15	7	5	35
	Poolicotayeerawocoday	Thaoor.	S. E.	24	„	3	4	0
	Eyeangayraygoothangayray	Todiandamale.	N. W.	19	30	8	6	90
	Ballamowutty	do.	N. E.	5	15	7	0	137
	Payroor	do.	N. W.	7	15	6	6	90
	Yemmaymaud ...	do.	N. E.	18	45	7	4	110
	Nellijy	do.	„	17	15	5	4	192
	Kolaykayraybaymoonjee ...	do.	„	40	30	6	2	110
	Baidthu	do.	„	46	0	7	5	182
	Koonjullu	do.	„	31	0	3	7	182
	Nellaudu	do.	„	11	37	2	5	10
	Yewakkupaudu ...	do.	„	37	30	3	3	110
	Chaylaywara	do.	S. E.	84	7	4	4	130
Kuddiettthu Naad.	Paulingaulie	Veerajenderpett tree	N. W.	86	52	5	6	145
	Kurrada.	do.	„	85	52	6	6	110
	Poothoowaddu ...	do.	„	77	15	5	5	22
	Bawaulley	Todiandamale.	„	66	30	7	2	5
	Kokayray	do.	N. E.	71	7	5	5	165
	Kirrundhaud ...	do.	N. E.	61	45	6	7	165
	Kycaud	do.	„	56	0	7	3	0
	Balamoory ...	Veerajenderpett	N. W.	46	30	1	1	0

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Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from which observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Hoodoogayray Kuddiatthu Naad *contd.*	Koninjugayray ...	Veerajenderpett.	N. W.	52	15	7	4	165
	Nerriindhuddu ...	Todiandamale.	N. E.	83	15	6	2	165
Moondapum Naad.	Murragoad ...	Noorkul.	S. W.	54	7	2	3	55
	Hossokuray ...	do.	„	10	45	2	3	55
	Kuttymáud ...	Veerajenderpett.	N. W.	5	52	7	5	0
	Arrucaudu ...	Noorkul.	S. E.	6	30	3	2	27
	Nelly Hoodoogayray ...	do.	„	47	45	6	3	110
	Shodooloor ...	do.	„	0	30	4	1	0
	Waulmore ...	do.	„	65	30	4	5	165
Baingu Naad.	Koondacherry ...	Thaoor.	S. E.	61	30	1	5	45
	Poodhakulloo ...	Baingoor.	S. W.	42	22	2	2	105
	Singatoor ...	do.	„	26	45	2	3	100
	Koputty ...	do.	S. E.	15	30	1	6	105
	Kolugadhaul ...	do.	„	46	52	3	3	165
	Koottoorpoonagoad ...	do.	„	46	22	4	5	165
	Eyewettukkooloo ...	Todiandamale.	N. E.	18	0	8	6	92
	Churrindittoo ...	Baingoor.	S. E.	5	30	3	2	165
	Bodagha ...	do.	„	23	15	3	2	27
	Baingoor ...	do.	„	40	30	5	1	0
Yedday Naku Naad.	Gooyan Seedapoor.	Veerajenderpett.	N. E.	37	15	6	7	0
Byru Naad.	Aariacommangaula	do.	„	22	45	4	1	165
	Daywunagayray.	do.	„	0	45	3	4	110
	Bhyrumbauda ...	do.	„	3	37	4	1	0
	Yeddoor ...	do.	„	10	15	5	2	147
	Halugoonda Candangayray ...	do.	N. W.	4	0	5	1	110
Yedday Naad.	Umbatty ...	do.	S. E.	29	52	1	7	165
	Chumbaybailloor...	do.	N. E.	28	37	2	1	0
	Imungulla ...	do.	S. E.	68	52	1	1	110
	Poodthakatay ...	do.	N. W.	21	30	1	5	110
	Kookool'oor ...	do.	„	6	0	1	0	110
	Muggulla ...	do.	S. E.	80	30	1	2	0

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yardes.
Yeddaiy Naku Naad (*contd.*)	Hiroor Naad. Balaugode ...	Veerajenderpett.	S. E.	22	15	2	7	55
	Naingulla ...	do.	„	21	15	3	5	0
	Bittumgaula ...	do.	„	31	15	4	0	110
	Baithoally Naad. Heggullu ...	do.	S. W.	36	0	5	1	120
	Baithoalley ...	do.	„	39	0	2	0	110
	Arrujee ...	do.	„	15	15	2	0	190
	Billagoonda ...	do.	N. E.	74	15	2	1	100
Ammuthu Naad.	Ammuthu ...	Moogoataygayray.	„	52	30	4	1	100
	Poolyayray ...	do.	N. W.	18	45	5	4	55
	Kaumbaudy ...	Veerajenderpett.	„	49	45	2	5	110
	Karumaudu ...	do.	N. E.	7	0	4	0	30
	Kullathamaud ...	Moogootagayray.	N. W.	41	30	3	3	110
	Goatuwara ...	do.	„	38	0	2	0	95
	Byegoad ...	do.	„	54	30	2	6	5
	Kukkayray ...	do.	N. E.	29	15	1	1	105
	Hossoor ...	do.	N. W.	15	0	3	2	50
	Bettigayray ...	do.	„	22	30	4	7	5
	Hauthoor ...	do.	„	78	15	2	3	40
	Uttoor ...	do.	N. E.	31	52	3	0	192
	Hossokayray ...	do.	„	8	52	5	4	205
	Maykoor ...	do.	S. W.	37	15	6	5	52
	Korungaula ...	do.	„	44	0	6	1	110
	Wuddurhully ...	do.	„	47	45	5	0	110
	Chennienkotay ...	do.	„	26	52	5	3	10
	Koolungode ...	do.	„	37	30	4	1	165
	Naluwuttukulloo ...	Veerajenderpet.	S. E.	84	0	3	2	120
Baypu Naad.	Thomurra ...	do.	S. W.	66	45	6	2	110
	Mooroor ...	do.	N. W.	72	37	3	6	90
	Nalukayray ...	do.	„	46	37	5	1	165
	Mythaudy ...	do.	„	31	7	3	7	192
	Kuddhunoor ...	do.	„	86	15	2	3	0
	Kadhaymooley ...	do.	S. W.	77	45	3	1	205
	Arromulliay ...	do.	N. W.	58	37	3	2	10
	Koonjilugayray ...	do.	„	57	52	6	2	135
	Beulloomaud ...	do.	„	65	52	5	0	25

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Hobly or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Kuggoadloo Naad. Kooyeangayray Naad.	Auwundoor ...	Baingoor.	S. E.	79	37	4	7	15
	Betthathoor ...	do.	„	77	22	3	6	200
	Kauroogoonda ...	Muddukay-ray.	S. W.	50	30	5	0	110
	Arruwuttuckkooloo ...	do.	„	18	45	3	5	150
	Hayrow ...	do.	„	54	0	3	2	110
	Hooddoor ...	Veerajen-derpett.	N. W.	38	15	9	3	0
	Hoadthawaddoo ...	do.	„	43	7	10	0	0
	Koombulludhaulu ...	do.	„	36	22	10	6	110
	Pauloor ...	Todian-damale.	N. E.	36	0	10	2	110
	Kurrietthoor ...	do.	„	27	0	9	3	55
	Bettikayray ...	do.	S. W.	37	30	4	5	165
	Maddhay ...	Muddukay-ray.	S. W.	73	37	3	1	58
	Billigayray ...	do.	S. E.	19	30	3	5	110
	Kuggoadloo ...	Noorkul.	N. W.	81	15	2	7	70
	Haukudhu ...	do.	„	67	30	3	1	120
	Maykayray ...	Muddukayray.	S. E.	12	0	1	5	110
	Kautakayray ...	do.	S. W.	43	15	1	0	55
Bettieth Naad.	Moogootagayray ...	Moogoata-gayray.	S. E.	64	30	1	4	112
	Koondhudda ...	do.	N. W.	85	0	0	6	110
	Arruwuttuckkooloo ...	do.	N. E.	70	0	1	1	200
	Eechoor ...	do.	S. E.	27	0	2	1	0
	Shettyayray ...	do.	S. W.	19	15	2	7	165
	Kohgunna ...	do.	„	9	37	3	6	0
	Kothundee. ...	do.	„	35	52	4	0	55
	Baudhagha Hosokayray	do.	„	55	37	4	4	110
	Roodroogoopay ...	do.	„	77	52	4	1	110
	Kundungaula ...	do.	„	64	45	3	3	0
	Hooddhoor ...	do.	S. E.	46	0	2	7	55
	Hulleyguttoo ...	do.	„	59	22	2	2	162
	Baulajie ...	do.	N. E.	88	15	4	0	55
	Roodroobeudoo ...	do.	„	89	22	5	8	165
	Moyamoody ...	do.	„	72	30	3	0	95
	Hebbauly ...	do.	„	61	37	4	5	120
	Dhunnoogaulloo ...	do.	„	85	0	6	0	110

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from which distance observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Kaunthamoor Naad.	Kodamboor ...	Verajender-pett.	N. W.	36	15	8	2	187
	Baudagha ...	do.	„	36	30	6	7	110
	Kiggauloo ...	do.	„	22	15	6	5	0
	Ikola ...	do.	„	14	15	7	5	27
	Moothooamoody ...	do.	„	23	22	9	4	0
	Kaunthoor ...	do.	„	22	15	8	4	0

KIGGUTT NAAD TALOOK.

Contains 7 Naads :—

Unjigayray Naad.

Aurykayray do.

Tawullugayray do.

Koorchy Toru do.

Kirrigoor do.

Hutthacuttu do.

Murray do.

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Unjigayray Naad.	Baingoor ...	Moogoata-gayray	S. E.	20	30	4	0	110
	Nurrookola Chaynawara	do.	„	28	15	3	5	82
	Muggoatagayray ...	do.	„	49	15	4	1	55
	Nuddukayray ...	do.	„	41	30	5	0	30
	Hoodookayray ...	do.	„	25	0	5	4	165
	Toowutchumukkuloo-kayray ...	do.	„	50	45	6	2	165
	Atchinakanumoondoor.	do.	„	44	7	5	7	55
	Beully Moondoor ...	do.	„	56	52	8	4	0
	Hyesoadooloo ...	Beerunnanay.	N. E.	65	0	7	3	110
	Konaygayray ...	do.	„	63	45	8	4	55
Tawullugayray Aurikay-ray naad Naad.	Beullyoor ...	Moogoata-gayray.	S. E.	79	45	8	1	207
	Dawunnoor ...	do.	„	82	15	10	4	0
	Baullullay ...	do.	„	79	7	9	1	110
	Nummullay ...	Beerunnanay.	S. E.	89	45	9	0	55
	Shattygayray ...	do.	N. E.	81	15	8	4	0
	Tawullugayray ...	do.	S. E.	75	0	8	5	0
	Belloor ...	do.	N. E.	69	45	9	5	55
	Harrihara ...	Brummagerry.	„	1	15	9	7	55
	Nallakayray ...	do.	„	10	0	8	6	55
	Kothoor ...	Moogoata-gayray.	S. E.	59	15	9	1	110
Koorchy'lo-ru Naad.	Koorchy ...	Brummagerry.	N. W.	14	15	3	7	165
	Sirimungullay ...	do.	N. E.	7	15	4	1	0
	Tyladhu ...	do.	„	18	22	3	1	55
	Kootthu ...	do.	„	44	22	3	3	55
	Koomuttoor ...	do.	„	10	37	5	3	10
Kirrigoor Naad.	Mutthoor ...	Moogoatagayray.	S. E.	64	30	4	7	110
	Kotoor ...	do.	„	59	30	6	6	110
	Bissagoor ...	do.	„	70	15	7	6	55
	Nulloor ...	do.	„	76	15	6	7	0
	Kirrigoor ...	do.	„	79	15	5	0	10
Hutthaguttu Naad.	Bekkaysodoloor ...	do.	S. E.	66	0	8	4	0
	Niddugoomba ...	do.	„	70	15	10	0	0
	Kaunoor ...	do.	„	61	45	9	3	0
	Kotaygayray ...	do.	„	74	0	12	4	0

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from where observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Murray Naad.	Beerunnanny ...	Beerunnanny	S. E.	85	30	2	0	0
	Porawaddu ...	do.	N. E.	80	30	5	3	0
	Baudughagerrikayray.	do.	„	75	30	5	2	0

SOOLEEAY TALOOK.

is divided into two large portions, Umr and Sooleay.

UMR TALOOK.

Contains 5 Magunnies:—

Kolumuggurra Magunnie.

Kunderpaudee do.

Chokaudee do.

Moghurrudhu do.

Yainakul Dawarhully do.

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Kolumuggurra Magunnie.	Keiraybaugha ...	Soobramuhni.	S. W.	42	0	5	3	10
	Hurriharu Pullathoada-kukurjoday ...	do.	„	60	37	6	2	0
	Kuttudu ...	do.	„	51	52	7	5	147
	Kolumuggurra Yed-doonooroo ...	do.	„	39	30	7	5	27
	Kullumukar or Kud-dumukull ...	do.	„	27	37	8	5	147
Kunderpaudee Magunnie.	Dawachallu ...	Chokaudee.	S. E.	40	52	3	0	120
	Moodapaudee ...	do.	„	51	45	6	0	17
	Kunderpaudee ...	do.	„	70	0	6	1	180
	Gotugar ...	do.	„	83	52	2	3	147
	Nallukoor ...	do.	N. E.	88	30	4	7	0
	Kullujee ...	Soobramee-hni.	S. W.	89	22	7	1	140
Chokaudee Magunnie.	Moodoonoor ...	Chokaudee.	S. W.	72	30	1	7	65
	Puduwanoor ...	do.	„	86	7	3	6	110
Moghurrudhee Magunnie.	Moghurrudhee ...	do.	N. E.	68	30	3	5	0
	Mullakajeebeulluku ...	do.	„	61	15	2	7	77
Yainakul Dawarhully Magunnie.	Poochupaudy ...	do.	„	66	0	4	6	110
	Yainakul ...	do.	„	59	0	6	1	110
	Dawarhully ...	do.	„	71	45	7	2	192
	Buleela ...	Soobramuhni.	S. W.	82	55	6	5	165
	Kainnay (this is situated in Punjee belongs to this)	Ckokaudee.	N. E.	19	7	4	5	110

SOOLEEAY TALOOK.

Contains 6 *Magunnies*:—

Bulla Naad Magunnie.
Puduwanoor do.
Moodoonoor do.
Iddurrukah do.
Arranthode do.
Uddoor do.

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Bulla naad Magunnie.	Kaimbrayjee ...	Chokaudee.	S. E.	20	15	2	7	40
	Moodoonoor ...	do.	„	34	15	4	7	165
	Murrukoonjee ...	do.	„	16	45	4	6	110
Moodoonoor Puduwanoor Magunnie.	Mundacole ...	Uddoor.	N. E.	74	37	4	7	57
	Adjeewaramainala ...	do.	„	80	27	8	0	55
	Mooliah Kaunthmungala	do.	„	75	30	9	6	0
	Jaulsoor Kautoor ...	do.	„	63	30	9	6	110
	Amburuttee Payrauloo	do.	„	69	27	7	4	82
	Kookoonoorsonangayray	do.	S. W.	59	0	5	0	0
	Koyekole Bittumpaudee	do.	„	39	0	4	7	120
	Ooburrurrukkumittoor	do.	„	10	0	4	2	55
	Ammaymuddiaroo ...	do.	„	21	0	5	5	55
	Kaunbittoolookairrathoday.	do.	„	37	30	6	2	165
Iddurrukah Magunnie.	Yannara ...	do.	S. E.	83	0	6	5	0
	Allaytee	Payrahjee.	N. W.	50	30	4	7	110
Arranthode Magunnie.	Arranthode Urroothully.	Payrahjee.	N. E.	24	0	5	0	110
	Bhylhully	Moodapaudee.	S. W.	42	27	3	7	37
	Thoorikauhna ...	Payrahjee.	N. E.	70	7	2	0	82
Uddoor Magunnie.	Uddoor	Uddoor.	N. E.	39	22	1	4	192
	Dhaylumpaudee ...	do.	„	40	15	5	7	55
	Beullupaudee ...	do.	„	55	52	6	4	192
	Konnakumunjula ...	do.	„	51	0	7	5	55
	Myaula ...	do.	„	22	0	3	4	110

POOTTOOR TALOOK.

Contains 4 Magunnies :—

Punjee Magunnie.

Nettinukay do

Bullary do

Poottoor do

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Holeby or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Punjee Magunnie.	Bullapu ...	Chokaudee.	N. W	32	30	4	5	125
	Kayempaudee ...	do.	„	21	27	5	4	0
	Audookaru ...	do.	„	41	52	4	4	137
	Bullupu Moodoonoor .	do.	„	38	45	5	6	140
	Arrugoody ...	do.	„	31	27	5	7	165
	Poolikooku ...	do.	N. W	7	0	5	7	0
	Punjee Moodoonoor ...	do.	N. E.	29	37	4	0	147
	Yennamoor ...	do.	N. W.	24	52	4	1	82
	Kaunchody ...	do.	„	56	30	3	4	147
	Kullumudduku ...	do.	„	61	30	2	3	85
	Eyewuttukkooloo ...	do.	„	1	7	3	4	0
	Punjee Devarhully ...	do.	N. E.	4	0	2	7	115
	Pudduwanoor ...	do.	N. W.	29	7	2	4	165
	Pumbaythaudee ...	do.	„	11	30	2	2	165
	Kukkunichiddukulloo .	do.	N. E.	25	7	2	4	10
	Koothookoonjay ...	do.	„	37	52	1	7	12
	Yeddamungulla ...	Kul Betta.	„	76	52	4	2	110
	Allayjee ...	do.	„	78	52	2	7	5
	Dholapaudee ...	do.	„	42	0	4	0	42
	Iddeeurrukku (this belongs to Bullaree.)	do.	„	28	27	2	3	10
	Amrakasupaudy ...	do.	„	9	37	2	7	137
Nettinukay Magunnie.	Bettumpaudee ...	Maddhow.	N. W.	81	15	6	6	135
	Niddoopoolly ...	do.	S. W.	89	45	5	3	82
	Arrieddookah ...	do.	N. W.	70	0	3	3	110
	Mahdeonoor ...	do.	„	73	15	1	3	110
	Nettinukay ...	do.	S. W.	73	30	7	5	55
	Koombrajee ...	Niddoopoolly	„	54	30	6	0	55
	Ooperungaulla ...	do.	„	58	30	7	7	117
	Puddurray ...	Maddhow.	„	80	0	10	1	67
	Payrudhaulloo ...	Niddoopoolly	„	78	52	10	1	192
	Baillu ...	do.	„	73	45	12	0	175
	Belloor ...	do.	„	42	15	3	3	192
	Moodoonoor ...	Bella Naad.	S. E.	86	0	6	3	55
	Ahdhoor ...	Uddoor.	N. W.	47	7	3	4	110
Bullary Magunnie.	Moghurra ...	Kul Betta.	N. W.	47	27	5	1	42
	Sumpaudee ...	do.	„	56	45	5	0	142
	Poonachupaudee ...	do.	„	65	0	4	4	87
	Koomaramungulla ...	Maddhow.	N. E.	15	0	4	2	0

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Bullary Magunnie. (*Continued.*)	Bembeelah ...	Kul Betta.	N. E.	68	37	3	7	82
	Paulathaudee ...	Maddhow.	„	52	30	2	4	137
	Maddhow ...	do.	„	43	30	1	2	0
	Kollutugay ...	do.	S. E.	89	7	2	3	110
	Douen Kollutugay ...	do.	„	57	0	2	1	192
	Moondoor ...	do.	S. W.	35	52	2	3	110
	Surrooay ...	do.	N. W.	2	37	5	7	127
	Yellia ...	do.	„	6	45	4	4	137
	Kaidumpaudee ...	do.	„	26	27	4	3	147
	Kayoor ...	do.	„	1	27	3	4	137
	Jary Naad ...	Kul Betta.	S. E.	7	15	4	4	147
	Bullary ...	do.	„	7	15	2	0	137
	Tuntapaudee ...	do.	„	25	27	3	1	27
	Peerayjee ...	do.	S. W.	70	45	1	6	95
	Chinnawarra ...	do.	„	72	15	2	2	0
	Payrumoonda ...	do.	N. W.	73	0	2	1	22
	Sowanoor ...	do.	„	57	15	3	4	65
	Koodoomar ...	do.	„	45	0	3	5	67
	Bellundoor ...	do.	„	39	0	2	6	120
	Koonkia ...	do.	„	49	0	2	4	102
	Nettar ...	do.	S. W.	19	45	2	5	165
	Augullee ...	do.	N. W.	25	0	2	1	55
	Kaiemuhna ...	do.	„	25	15	2	7	72
	Koomoothaudy ...	do.	„	22	45	3	4	7
	Murrukutta ...	do.	„	8	27	2	4	192
	Muggurunjee ...	do.	N. E.	7	52	1	6	165
	Nauleelah ...	do.	N. W.	5	0	3	4	82
	Chirrooaka ...	do.	„	2	0	4	3	10
	Kaunyoor ...	do.	N. E.	2	52	0	7	110
	Kullupuddhuttu (this belongs to Puhjee) ...	do.	„	81	52	0	6	0
	Koondoolee ...	do.	„	76	52	1	7	82
	Moorooleea ...	do.	S. E.	81	37	1	7	120
	Pijivina ...	do.	„	75	7	2	7	110
	Murruweenjee ...	do.	„	62	15	3	5	15
	Moopayreea ...	do.	„	52	27	2	6	90
	Budjinnie ...	do.	„	45	30	1	6	57
	Kodeaulee ...	do.	S. W.	8	7	0	5	42
	Turrukujee ...	do.	S. E.	7	15	1	3	197
	Bauleela ...	do.	„	46	30	3	0	110

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Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Lullary Magunie (Contd).	Kootee	Chokaudee.	N. W.	75	15	3	7	110
	Moondoogaroo	Kul Betta.	S. E.	38	15	3	5	15
	Nuddoobittoo	do.	N. W.	35	0	1	1	110
	Kullumbee (in Punjee)	do.	N. E.	68	30	3	7	110
	Kullunjee	do.	S. E.	31	37	2	7	55
Poottoor Magunnie.	Baillaioor	Bella Naad.	„	14	30	3	5	32
	Bellanaad	do.	„	25	37	1	1	0
	Aariapoo	do.	„	58	30	3	5	197
	Ooloomuggurra	Maddhow.	N. W.	57	0	4	5	147
	Pullupinjee	do.	„	45	27	4	6	130
	Kooreeah	Bella Naad.	S. E.	63	30	5	2	110
	Paulinjee	do.	N. W.	74	30	4	7	110
	Adjallaudee	Maddhow.	N. E.	25	22	5	6	5
	Kuddiah	do.	„	12	15	6	1	110
	Kayminjee	Bella Naad	S. E.	89	0	3	6	200
	Neirymuggurra	Kul Betta.	N. W.	89	45	5	6	110
	Veramungulla	Bella Naad.	N. E.	49	0	6	6	165
	Alluddooka	do.	„	68	45	5	0	165
	Santagode	do.	„	76	27	6	5	27
	Poottoor	do.	„	76	37	2	1	215
	Oormullay	do.	„	70	0	4	3	0
	Chiku Moodoonoor	do.	„	59	0	4	1	110
	Beullypaudee	do.	„	53	37	5	6	0
	Bunnoor	do.	„	43	0	3	2	77
	Kodimpaudee	do.	„	45	0	5	1	197
	Nuckullaudee	do.	„	37	27	6	5	140
	Bellioor	do.	„	22	27	4	7	82
	Pairnay	do.	„	16	7	4	7	55
	Pudduwanoor	do.	„	20	7	2	7	55
	Kubbukku	do.	N. W.	9	27	2	4	110
	Kullookah	do.	N. E.	30	0	1	6	0
	Koodypaudee	do.	N. W.	36	15	1	1	55

General View and Description of the Boundary

DESCRIPTION.	No.	Angles. °	Angles. '	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yds.	Objects.
* The Division between Mysore and Wynaad takes place at the N. W. angle of the latter district and is there formed by the Knydaygaholay. Quitting Moogooda *x*; the boundary passes over undulating slopes and through a thick Forest to 138.—It here crosses the Naugur holay which is tolerably large.	„	31	15	„	3	110	Division of Wynaad and Mysore Moogooda *X*.
	„	75	45	„	4	170	
	141	46	„	„	7	110	
	140	30	30	„	4	165	
	„	18	15	„	3	110	
		79	45	„	4	100	
	138	16	58	„	4	165	Division of Koorchy Toru Naad.
	137	40	30	„	5	55	
	136	51	15		4	40	
Quitting the Naugur holay the boundary passes over similar ground and an equally thick junglo to 131 when it passes the Sauntee holay an inconsiderable stream	135	85	45	1	„	„	
	134	33	„	„	4	„	
	133	5	„	„	6	55	Division of Tawulluga y ray Naad. Here pass Sauntee holay. Small.
	13	5	„	„	3	5	
	13	338	45	„	1	90	
Leaving this stream the line of Demarcation between the two Territories passes through a country differing in no particular from what has been described the slopes over which the line passes are low and covered with a thick Forest it crosses the large road to	130	338	45	„	3	55	
	„	350	30	„	4	110	
	„	332					
	129	332	„	„	4	165	
	„	347	„	„	3	165	
	128	347	15		1	120	
	„	7	15	„	3	„	
	127	334	15	„	3	40	
	126	334	45	„	5	„	
	„	352	45	„	2	120	
	125	352	30	„	2	55	
	124	6	30	„	3	165	
	„	339	45	„	2	10	
	123	339	15	„	1	55	
Heggadavencotta at 122, and quitting it continues exactly of the same character to	122	341	15	„	3	55	Division of Huttucotta Naad and here cross large road to Heggadavencotta.
	„	318	15	„	5	110	
	121	318	45	„	3	110	
	120	355	45	„	5	165	
	119			„	2	110	
		355	45	„	1	90	
	„	319	15	„	2	100	
	117	328	10	„	4	200	
	116	348	15	„	5	110	
	115	311	45	„	3	100	
Koomanoor Parra 114, on the bank of the Luchmun Tirut.	114						Koomanoor Parra on bank of the Luchmun Tirut.

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DESCRIPTION.	No.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distance. Miles.	Distance. Furlongs.	Distance. Yds.	Objects.
Crossing the above river from this point it proceeds 6¾ Furlongs through a forest, whence descending into the River, its waters mark the Division till to 109. The river of this distance has high banks, a sandy bottom and is not easy to be crossed.	112	350	15	„	3	„	
	111	350	15	„	2	10	
	110	350	15	„	1	55	
	109	350	15	„	3	200	
		350	15	„	2	„	
	108	312	30	„	2	55	
		237	45	„	3	140	
	107	269	„	„	2	„	
	106	302	„	„	2	55	
		287	15	„	4	180	
	105	311	45	„	2	110	
Quitting the Luchmun Tirut the country becomes rather steeper, the Boundary slightly ascending, proceeds over a comparatively high ridge of slopes till reaching 100.	„	343	15	„	2	„	
	„	322	58	„	2	110	
	„	335	45	„	4	110	
	„	308	45	„	1	165	
	104	334	45	„	2	55	
	„	334	45	„	4	165	
	103	320	30	„	1	170	
	„	320	30	„	1	170	
	102	352	„	„	2	165	
	„	293	30	„	3	„	
	„	313	55	„	3	„	
	101	271	5	„	4	„	
	100	247	„	„	4	110	
From this point to Cuddeway holay a small stream forms the division till to 99.	„	308	45	„	7	60	
	„	289	15	„	2	200	
	99	219	30	„	1	55	
	„	272	15	„	4	100	
Thence it proceeds to 98 having here ascended the summit of the Mawcull ridge it proceeds along it, passing frequent acclivities to 83.	98	229	45	„	2	165	
	„	300	45	„	2	165	
	„	340	40	„	2	55	
	„	320	30	„	4	„	
The whole of this Distance (that is from 98 to 83) is a continued range of small Hills which is covered	97	350	15	„	1	170	
	96	49	„	„	3	50	
	95	346	30	1	2	„	
	„	310	„	„	2	55	
	„	294	45	„	3	110	
	94	315	30	„	5	55	
	„	315	30	„	1	20	
	„	355	30	„	4	165	
	„	316	45	„	2	55	
	93	„	„	„	0	200	
	„	„	„	„	1	„	
	„	29	15	„	3	„	
	92	„	„	„	1	110	
	„	309	30	„	1	165	
	91	344	15	„	3	55	

DESCRIPTION.	No.	Angles.		Distances.			Objects.
		°	′	Miles.	Furlongs	Yards.	
with a high impervious Forest forms an excellent boundary, Mawcull and Seedasweer are the most conspicuous tops of it.	90	272	45	0	1	0	
	89	272	45	0	3	10	
	88	340	15	0	3	55	
	,,	278	,,	0	3	55	
	,,	326	30	0	3	165	
Quitting the Seedasweer range of hills the boundary gently descends and following the course of a small nalla for a considerable distance meets the Bhyrun holay along whose Stream it passes till reaching the Cauvery river to 81 close to the village of Rungasamoodrum.	85	283	45	0	5	170	
	84	262	15	0	4	55	
	,,	262	15	0	0	110	
	83	329	30	0	0	165	
	,,	329	30	0	6	0	
	,,	345	15	0	3	165	
	,,	324	15	0	5	165	
	,,	,,	,,	0	7	20	
	82	307	10	0	2	90	
	,,	345	10	0	3	55	
	,,	275	15	1	0	0	
	81	243	15	0	4	55	

REMARKS on the foregoing Borders of the Boundary.

From the point (Moogooda *x*.) marking the Division between Mysore and Wynaad, till the line of separation falls into the Cauvery near Rungasamoodrum, the boundary passes through a thick forest nearly impervious in many parts, it proceeds partly over undulating slopes, and partly over the crest of the low range of the Seedasweer Hills:—this part of the Frontier is crossed but in few places, having but three large roads, and those indifferent throughout it, and the woods extending a considerable distance on each side of the line of demarcation render it naturally strong, difficult to be approached, and easily defended.

From Rungasamoodrum till Moogooda E. the Cauvery forms the boundary its breadth is during this distance about ⅛ of a mile—the banks are always high, and steep, and the bed rocky, it may be considered as constituting a strong frontier from June to August inclusive, it can only be passed in a boat, the stream however for the remainder of the year admits of its being forded in some places, but the elevation of its banks, renders it readily defensible during the early part of the country in		0	0	,,	5	0	
		41	5	,,	4	110	
		3	15	,,	2	0	
		29	45	,,	7	0	
		10	45	,,	6	55	
		85	15	,,	4	55	
		47	0	1	0	55	
		77	15	1	3	55	
		90	30	,,	3	55	
		342	30	,,	7	110	
		45	30	,,	4	110	
		317	0	1	1	110	
		351	15	,,	3	110	
		16	0	1	3	0	
		72	0	,,	4	165	
		17	0	,,	5	110	

2231

DESCRIPTION.	No.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
its vicinity consists of steep slopes partially covered with jungle, advancing to the north however this gives way to open cultivated plains.		99	10	0	7	165	
		22	5	0	4	165	
		312	„	1	„	55	
		„	„	0	3	70	
		96	15	0	6	55	
		18	48	0	3	55	
		323	30	0	6	160	
		63	30	0	4	110	
		109	45	0	7	110	
		49	45	0	5	165	
		7	30	0	2	55	
	83	334	„	0	2	0	Moogooda. E.
		220	35	0	2	110	
		311	15	0	3	0	
commencing from Moogooda E. where the boundary quits the Cauvery it passes		280	45	0	7	55	
		322	45	0	4	55	
over a small Nulla till to 79.		„	„	0	5	110	
	79	300	15	0	1	55	
		222	35	0	2	10	
		189	5	0	3	0	
		224	30	0	1	60	
Thence it runs between the village of Kautinhully	77	175	45	0	4	165	
and Villoor and proceeds over		292	15	0	6	70	
easy slopes to 75.	76	270	15	0	4	0	
From this point it passes	75	162	55	1	„	130	
for a very short way through the bed of a small tank and ascends a rather steep ridge to 74.							
Thence it continues to	74	265	58	0	6	0	
pass over a rather stony		327	40	1	„	40	
ridge of irregular height till	73	345	„	1	„	165	
Thence descending it passes	72	336	30	1	2	200	
two small tanks at 71 and meets another close to 70.	71	24	„	0	3	123	2 Small tanks.
		325	28	0	1	137	
Quitting it the boundary	70	26	35	0	1	165	Small tank.
proceeds over a similar country to 69.		271	58	0	2	0	Division of Counagaul
		290	30	0	4	137	Gunniagoor with
	69	305	15	0	1	200	Arculgoad.
From which till to 68 it passes through the bed of the	68	62	35	0	4	0	Cuddavay holay.
Cudvayholay here small. Quitting this nulla the boundary		337	40	0	5	13	Small division of
passes over easy slopes till to		2	35	0	7	110	Counagaul Modoor with Arculgoad.
near 66 when it runs for a very short way over steeper ones but again proceeds over a low flattish country covered with a light jungle to 64.	65	14	30	0	5	0	
	64	82	30	0	2	82	

2232

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. '	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Thence to 63 it passes along the Chenholay.	63	334	28	„	6	„	Mooloor and Neiratoda with Arculgoad and Chenholaysmall.
Quitting which it runs over a similar country to what has just been mentioned passing along the banks of two small tanks at 62 and 61.	62	90	„	„	6	55	
		120	34	„	2	69	2 small tanks.
	61	„	„	„	5	55	
Quitting them it continues to proceed over a rather flat country, passes close to the village of Sheaghurra at 57 continues of the same character to 53, here it passes the slopes running from Mensi gootta which are comparatively steep, it crosses the great road to Mysore at 51 and runs over an open waving country to 49 passing for the greater part of this distance between cultivation, here it joins the Chenholay and continues passing through it to 48.—It proceeds over a close country to 46 where it crosses the great road to Mullyputna from this point it proceeds over rather steep slopes and through a jungly country to 42.		70	15	„	1	165	
		18	15	„	2	100	
		349	32	„	5	„	Cross great road
		26	32	„	2	165	to Mysore.
	56	12	50	„	4	27	
	55	347	30	„	2	55	Division of Mensedda and Holacode with Arculgoad. Here meet the Chenholay.
		284	30	„	3	69	
	51	294	55	1	„	55	
		343	10	„	7	68	
	50	11	45	1	1	55	
	49	328	10	„	5	165	
		347	15	„	2	165	Division of Holacode and Coodooloor with Arculgoad. Cross great road to Mullyputna.
	48	9	„	„	2	10	
	47	80	30	„	5	123	
	46	96	10	„	3	27	
	45	51	15	„	2	41	
	44	28	15	„	1	62	
	43	34	55	„	6	62	
		„	„	„	1	123	
From this it proceeds over cultivation mostly to 41 where quitting fields it passes through a rather jungly country to 40—when it joins the Hemmawutty.	42	85	30	„	5	110	
		19	55	„	1	44	Division of Maharajdroog, Coodooloor and Arculgoad. Moogooda D.
		60	10	„	2	192	
	41	336	28	„	6	„	
	40	354	„	„	3	44	

Leaving the Cauvery at Moogooda E., it will be seen that the boundary passes over a country much more open than the previous part, the thick forest has given way to a jungle of light brushwood occasionally interspersed with trees of a larger growth, but the wood is in scarcely any place sufficiently thick to answer the purpose of defence. The declivities over which the line of division passes during this distance are few and inconsiderable.

2233

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yds.	Objects.
		271	58	„	4	55	
		258	15	„	6	110	
		294	15	„	4	165	
		270	„	„	4	„	
		285	58	„	1	165	
		313	15	„	2	165	
		346	15	„	4	110	
		287	15	„	2	165	
The general character of the Hemmawutty river will be found in its proper place this portion of it is only fordable for a part of the year, the country on its borders is formed of open waving slopes well cultivated and inhabited. The breadth of the river is about six hundred feet, it has rather a rocky bed, and the height and precipitous steepness of its banks renders it a good natural defence.		314	58	„	2	165	
		271	30	„	1	165	
		215	10	„	1	110	
		190	„	„	4	165	
		238	35	„	2	„	Division of Coodpoloor Coadley and Mahrajee.
		275	40	„	3	„	
		313	30	„	2	„	
		337	35	„	6	„	
		259	28	„	4	110	
		333	28	„	6	110	
		236	„	„	2	„	
	37	196	„	1	2	„	Moogooda C.
		235	15	„	„	55	Division of Mahrajee Mungeerabad and Coadley.
Quitting the Hemmawutty the boundary passes over the Kauty holay, this nulla has generally a good flow of water, its banks are low and it is fordable most part of the year to 36.		180	„	„	3	55	
		150	58	„	2	165	
		180	„	„	4	110	
		219	30	„	2	„	
		180	„	„	2	55	
	36	138	„	„	5	165	
		161	32	„	3	110	
		161	32	„	1	55	
From this it passes through a little paddy cultivation to 33.	35	104	10	„	2	110	
	33	180	„	„	„	165	
Thence it again proceeds along the Kaity holay to 31 whence quitting it, it runs along a smaller branch of this nulla to 28. Quitting this nulla the boundary passes over comparatively easy and open slopes to 25. From this point it slightly descends and passes a small stream and the cultivation of Yeggudhully close to 24 where it crosses the road to Bissly. From this the boundary slightly descends running close to some cultivation and crossing a large branch of the Kauty holay at 22.		259	„	„	1	55	
		208	30	„	2	„	
	31	249	35	„	4	200	
	22	294	„	„	2	100	
		269	30	„	3	120	
	28	180	„	„	2	120	
	26	150	28	„	5	63	
	25	216	35	„	5	63	
		176	„	„	6	„	
		202	15	„	4	„	
		180	„	„	1	120	Yeggudhully close and here cross road to Bissly.
	24	124	20	„	1	55	
	23	158	10	„	4	„	
	22	106	15	„	2	200	Cross a large branch of the Kauty holay.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Quitting the nulla it experiences some slight acclivities, but passes over a generally open and rather waving country till to 20 it meets here close to the village of Chemmunhully a large branch of the Knuty holay from this it passes along this nulla till to 19, this stream is small ; its banks low, everywhere fordable, the country on each side is well cultivated. Quitting the nulla it passes over open and undulating ground crossing a little paddy cultivation at 17. Thence it proceeds over similar country to No 16, passing close by Codugu betta, it descends to a small nulla and ascends to 14 from this the boundary passes over a steep and bare ridge running by Narhully Beelrashy betta till to Moorlukky betta 12. From this it descends to the nulla near Yeddachinta, thence passes along it to the junction of larger one No. 9 Dara. Quitting this it ascends with considerable steepness to Nitty betta No 8. From this point it continues to pass over an exceeding steep and precipitous ridge crossing a cuddung or hreast work at 5, the acclivities of this ridge are of unequal elevations but all are high, its top is bare, but the country immediately at its foot is exceedingly jungly. From this point the boundary passes along one of the streams forming the head of the Coomardarry river, it runs to till Moogooda A, through an exceeding steep and thick forest, this point forming the division between Canara, Codugu, and Mysore. Leaving Moogooda the boundary after some distance begins to ascend the sides of the steep and jungly Hill of Soobramuhini and passing within		124	,,	,,	5	137	
		159	10	,,	4	,,	
		102	20	,,	2	165	
	21	31	,,	,,	1	110	
		77	,,	,,	1	110	
	20	148	50	,,	3	55	
		164	15	,,	3	55	
		134	50	,,	2	100	
		175	,,	,,	5	110	
		209	30	,,	3	,,	Division of
	19	180	,,	,,	2	120	Mooloor, Gowd-
		255	40	,,	5	110	hully and Mun-
		288	10	,,	3	,,	geerabad.
	17	255	30	,,	4	110	
	16	230	,,	,,	4	110	Cross cultiva-
	15	307	,,	,,	4	110	tion, Division of
		245	,,	,,	4	,,	Gowdhully.
	14	278	,,	,,	4	,,	Yeddoor Naad
		308	10	,,	4	110	and Mungeéra-
		336	40	,,	7	120	bad.
	12	318	,,	1	3	165	
		222	40	1	,,	110	
	10	265	15	,,	1	165	
	9	306	20	,,	2	143	
		243	,,	,,	5	55	
	8	259	20	,,	3	165	
		217	28	,,	2	110	
	7	180	,,	,,	1	165	
	6	265	15	,,	3	55	
	5	240	30	,,	4	,,	Cross Cud-
	4	290	30	1	1	,,	dung.
		322	,,	,,	5	55	
	3	311	,,	,,	3	55	
		333	10	,,	5	55	
	2	276	28	1	1	100	
		330	15	,,	3	55	
		274	45	,,	6	,,	
		225	55	,,	7	,,	
		249	28	,,	6	55	
		223	30	,,	4	120	
		234	45	,,	3	55	
		285	30	,,	4	90	
	1	180	,,	,,	6	55	
	2	103	30	,,	3	27	
	3	129	40	,,	3	27	
	4	180	,,	,,	3	110	

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles.		Distances.			Objects.
		°	′	Miles.	Furlongs	Yards.	
a short distance of the summit of that hill reaches the top of a ridge proceeding from it at 5. From this it descends with great steepness to 6, having run for a short distance through a small nulla in one of the clefts it continues to pass through till 9, where it joins another one of greater magnitude along which it passes, following its various windings to 20 where running close by the village of Yeddoonoor. This nulla is joined by another large one running from the foot of the Kuddumkull ghaut, the nulla over which this boundary runs is small, but, till passing the foregoing village it runs through an exceeding steep and jungly country, the fall of the ghauts being till within a short distance of that place almost precipitous, quitting the village of Yeddanooroo the boundary passes over the Kuddumkull holay till to 22, quitting it, it proceeds over easy slopes, and again joins the small nulla close to the village of Agrarum at 25. The last short distance being close to the cultivation of that village from this to 26, it passes along the Kuddumkull holay, here quitting it runs close to the cultivation of Baulleela, and ascends with some slight steepness till to 29, thence it proceeds along a ridge (the first part rather steep the latter gently decreasing in elevation, but the whole covered with a rather thick jungle) and passing the great road to Soobramuhni at 31, meets the Coomardarry river close to the village of Hosohully at 33.	5	225	,,	,,	3	110	Division of Kolumuggurra and Yeddoor Naad.
	6	142	,,	1	2	,,	
	7	214	30	,,	7	55	
	8	189	30	,,	3	166	
	9	153	10	,,	4	,,	
	10	268	40	,,	2	55	
	11	224	,,	,,	1	110	
	12	247	,,	,,	2	166	
	13	214	30	,,	6	55	
	14	308	45	,,	3	55	
	15	271	40	,,	3	120	
	16	240	15	,,	2	110	
	17	293	30	,,	2	110	
	18	261	,,	,,	3	,,	
	19	213	20	,,	7	166	
	20	269	30	,,	4	166	
	21	347	56	,,	3	120	
	22	306	15	,,	2	200	
	23	337	40	,,	3	190	
	24	301	15	,,	3	166	Village of Agrarum close Division of Hoolumuggurra and Kunderpaudee.
	25	242	30	,,	3	100	
	26	330	30	,,	6	55	
	27	58	,,	,,	1	,,	
	28	99	15	,,	4	137	
	29	44	50	,,	3	27	
	30	334	15	1	0	55	Division of Kunderpaudee and Yainkull Daverhully. Pass great road toSoobramuhni.
	31	352	40	,,	7	,,	
	32	90	40	,,	2	110	
	33	36	15	,,	2	55	

From the point where the boundary quits the Hemmawutty till crossing the small nulla at Chicka Tholoor close to Codugu betta (No. 14) it proceeds through a comparatively champaign country passing over open slopes and cultivated fields, and in no place during this distance can it be considered as at all difficult of access or offering any facilities for defence, quitting this nulla however, and having assumed the course of the hills along whose steep summits it passes, the frontier becomes stronger and easily defensible, and descending the ghauts by a deep and narrow valley continues of a similar character (with the exception of a very small space in the vicinity of Soobramuhni) till reaching the Coomardarry the stream of which from this point (No 33), commences to form the line of division.

2236

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distance. Miles.	Distance. Furlongs.	Distance. Yards.	Objects.
It will be seen that the Coomardarry constitutes the northern boundary for a considerable distance, it forms a good natural limit and tolerably strong barrier; as such however it is more formidable from the general height of its banks, than the depth of its stream which admits of its being forded in many places, and it is only in the ruins that it can be considered as presentin g any serious obstacles in this particular; it is generally of narrow breadth in no part being greater than the seventh of a mile, the bed is of an uneven surface, being generally rocky. The country on the borders of this river consists of low steep slopes, partially covered with trees.	34	327	44	„	4	130	
	35	302	40	„	7	166	
	36	271	25	„	5	„	Division of
	37	308	15	„	7	130	Yanikul and Sicily.
	38	247	15	„	5	110	
	39	279	15	„	4	110	
	40	319	15	1	„	27	Division of Sicily and Kaumpaudy.
	41	270	40	„	5	60	
	42	217	10	„	6	110	
	43	264	15	„	4	„	Division of
	44	298	50	„	6	166	Kaumpaudy and
	45	231	40	1	2	10	Kaiemuhni from
	46	283	45	„	6	„	this the Division
	47	4	15	1	1	30	of Kaiemuhni
	48	314	„	„	6	55	and Punjay and
	49	266	10	1	„	27	from the 0·1·50
	50	314	40	„	4	55	of Punjay and
	51	301	10	1	1	„	Bundady.
	52	317	28	„	4	110	Division of
	53	286	10	„	3	„	Bundady and
	54	299	„	„	3	166	Kuddubudda.
	55	264	40	„	3	55	Division of
	56	297	30	„	2	166	Kuddubudda &
This portion of the frontier is not crossed by any large communications, numerous parts however connect the villages on either side.	57	276	10	1	„	„	Amrakoopaudy.
	58	319	40	1	„	110	
	59	274	40	„	6	170	From this 0·5·
	60	227	30	„	7	55	50 is the Divi-
	61	231	20	„	3	100	sion of Amra-
	62	205	40	„	3	110	koopaudy and
	63	273	„	2	1	„	Bullary.
	64	305	40	„	4	55	From 0·6½ is
	65	„	„	„	4	„	the Division of
	66	287	40	„		55	Bullary and
	67	33	45	„	7	110	Poottoor.
	68	265	50	„	7	„	
	69	319	28	1	3	„	From this 0·1.
	70	278	28	„	5	100	75 is the Divi-
	71	325	30	„	7	110	sion of Poottoor
	72	19	10	„	6	„	and Baug Belloor.
	73	325	58	„	6	110	
	74	19	„	„	4	166	
	75	338	„	„	3	55	
	76	278	15	„	7	„	
	77	290	50	„	5	166	
	78	258	„	„	5	100	
	79	278	40	„	7	100	

2237

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Quitting the Nittrawutti (the name which the Coomardarry assumes after passing Copunungudday) the boundary passes along Pairnay holay till to 90, this stream is small, but has comparatively high banks. The numerous small valleys bordering it are well cultivated, but the country in its vicinity is of very irregular surface.	80	215	40	,,	7	,,	
	81	245	50	,,	2	110	
	82	193	40	,,	4	10	
	83	221	40	,,	3	55	
	84	190	28	,,	1	170	
	85	234	10	,,	3	170	
	86	180	,,	,,	3	170	
	87	134	28	,,	1	110	
	88	180	,,	,,	4	110	
	89	251	15	,,	2	166	
Leaving this stream the line of division begins to pass over small hills and countries and to proceed over a rather rugged country till to 104 passing in this distance some small streams.	90	297	15	,,	2	166	
	91	264	40	,,	2	60	
	92	287	35	,,	2	137	
	93	193	40	,,	1	110	
	94	277	40	,,	1	55	
	95	239	,,	,,	2	100	
From this it gradually ascends a rather steep ridge covered with jungle reach at 111, the summit of that range of hills of which Bulla Naad is the highest top.	96	254	30	,,	1	110	
	97	140	50	,,	1	166	
	98	173	30	,,	2	60	
	99	134	30	,,	1	166	
	100	82	,,	,,	1	110	
From the previous mentioned point till to 114, the boundary passes over the crest of the before mentioned range of hills which is here rather steep and covered with a thick forest.	101	134	35	,,	3	200	
	102	187	30	,,	2	110	
	103	238	15	,,	3	140	
	104	254	40	,,	4	55	
	105	143	50	,,	5	10	
	106	91	30	,,	1	120	
Thence the boundary descends and passes in an irregular direction over low but steep tops partially open crossing numerous small nullahs and cultivated valleys till to 124 where it falls into the Irrudday holay and continues along its stream till to 128. This river is here narrow its banks are not remarkable for their height, and it is readily ford able except immediately in the rains.	107	169	10	,,	1	110	
	108	197	40	,,	3	,,	
	109	262	50	,,	1	66	
	110	98	,,	,,	1	166	
	111	137	15	,,	5	,,	
	112	133	40	,,	4	55	
	113	164	,,	,,	4	55	
	114	129	50	,,	1	90	
	115	253	45	,,	3	140	
	116	158	10	,,	2	100	
	117	253	50	,,	2	120	
	118	152	35	,,	2	166	
	119	226	10	,,	1	110	
	120	180	,,	,,	2	110	
	121	168	15	,,	3	100	
	122	279	40	,,	2	140	
	123	199	40	,,	4	166	
	124	164	10	,,	2	110	
	125	88	15	,,	4	166	
	126	125	58	,,	3	160	
	127	10	,,	,,	1	110	
	128	84	,,	,,	4	160	

2238

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
	129	191	40	„	2	160	
	130	167	30	„	1	„	
	131	278	50	„	2	„	
	132	256	50	„	5	„	
Leaving the river it proceeds over low and open slopes to 132.	133	180	„	„	2	„	
	134	190	15	„	4	110	
	135	151	„	„	2	10	
	136	169	10	„	3	160	
	137	229	50	„	2	100	
	138	180	„	„	1	„	
From this the boundary immediately ascends and having reached the summit proceeds over a steep and jungly ridge of hills to 142.	139	139	15	„	2	27	
	140	192	„	„	2	180	
	141	135	58	„	4	„	
	142	180	„	„	2	27	
From this the boundary continues with little exception to follow the summit of a rather low range of hills which are covered with a high jungle; this distance is crossed by one road and several foot paths; the numerous valleys formed by the small ridges extending themselves from this the great one, form intermediate valleys which are cultivated nearly from their rise.	143	125	„	„	6	55	
	144	268	„	„	1	110	
	145	312	55	„	2	55	
	146	279	„	„	1	110	
	147	302	50	„	2	60	
	148	262	50	„	1	166	
	149	180	„	„	2	27	
	150	243	„	„	2	166	
	151	324	35	„	4	27	
	152	31	30	„	2	100	
	153	334	„	„	5	20	
	154	277	15	„	2	27	
	155	339	„	„	3	„	
	156	300	45	„	2	165	
	157	236	10	„	1	115	
	158	205	35	„	1	165	
	159	275	35	„	6	„	
	160	232	5	„	4	110	
	161	180	„	„	4	„	
	162	217	35	„	2	115	
	163	278	„	„	3	165	
	164	265	58	„	5	110	
From the latter point the boundary commences to descend and passes over partly high and steep slopes partially open till crossing the Baudoo holay at 169.	165	263	45	„	4	110	
	166	225	„	„	3	5	
	167	255	10	„	3	120	
	168	288	5	„	4	„	
	169	248	40	„	5	165	

From the point where the boundary quits the Nittrawatti till reaching the Baudoo holay, it for a large part of this distance, runs along the summits of low ranges of hills. The forest with which they are covered however more than the elevation they present, would offer any difficulty which exists as to passing them, this distance it will be seen is crossed in numerous places, both by large roads and foot paths.—Indeed it (the boundary) is only partially covered by the hills on it, the immediate spaces between them giving a ready access to the interior.

2239

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. '	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Leaving the Baudoor holay the surface of the country becomes considerably flatter, the steep tops of the ridge just passed gives way to a flat table land whose rocky surface is quite devoid of jungle, the descent from this table into the cultivated valleys is short, but steep over the kind of country which has just been described, the boundary passes from 169 to 197, during this distance, it is every where to be passed with the utmost facility.	170	248	40	„	4	165	
	171	207	30	„	3	120	
	172	245	30	„	2	110	
	173	292	15	„	3	120	
	174	278	55	„	2	90	
	175	260	30	„	5	55	
	176	237	10	„	2	110	
	177	211	30	„	2	180	
	178	226	30	„	2	110	
	179	241	30	„	4	„	
	180	185	40	„	6	110	
	181	215	45	„	1	110	
	182	141	30	„	2	165	
	183	95	56	„	1	110	
	184	125	30	„	3	110	
	185	172	30	„	3	120	
	186	115	15	„	3	120	
	187	142	30	„	7	110	
	188	90	„	„	3	110	
	189	70	30	„	3	176	
	190	133	„	„	4	110	
	191	143	58	„	4	55	
	192	88	10	„	3	55	
	193	60	10	„	2	10	
	194	85	30	„	3	55	
Leaving the nulla which the boundary passes at the last mentioned point (197) it ascends and proceeds over a ridge of bare and somewhat steep slopes till to 210; this space is free from jungle and like the last one readily passed	195	41	30	„	2	55	
	196	18	45	„	4	55	
	197	„	„	„	2	5	
	198	43	10	„	2	5	
	199	29	25	„	3	190	
	200	88	58	„	1	55	
	201	128	48	„	6	110	
	202	114	„	„	3	200	
	203	166	30	„	3	55	
	204	111	58	„	5	55	
	205	71	45	„	2	120	
	206	6	15	„	4	55	
	207	36	„	„	2	55	
	208	78	58	„	2	110	
	209	114	„	„	2	110	
Quitting the last point the boundary proceeds over a ridge, partially covered with forest, considerably steeper than the former, and continues along its summits till to 214. From this it proceeds over low open slopes and	210	156	„	„	2	165	
	211	121	„	„	3	55	
	212	91	15	„	„	„	
	213	111	30	„	2	110	
	214	88	45	„	2	55	
	215	132	30	„	6	110	
	216	96	„	„	1	110	
	217	145	30	„	3	„	

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances Miles.	Distances Furlongs.	Distances Yards.	Objects.
with some steepness towards the Puiswunni, reaches it at 221.	218	133	30	„	2	110	
	219	199	30	„	3	90	
The boundary having reached the Puiswunni at 221.	220	122	15	„	1	„	
	221	151	30	„	9	165	

From the point where the boundary quits the Baudoor holay till its falling into the Puiswunni, it is in almost every place to be passed without any kind of difficulty. Indeed for this distance it is quite factitious, runs over a country quite open, and is no where marked by natural limits.

	222	224	15	„	1	190	
	223	198	15	„	3	110	
	224	219	35	„	5	200	
The boundary having reached the Puiswunni at 221, is	225	187	„	„	3	165	
marked by its stream till to	226	144	45	„	2	„	
228, this river is here only	227	222	58	„	„	200	
a furlong broad, and being	228	139	„	„	1	„	
deep, and having high and	229	112	10	„	2	170	
precipitous banks is not to	230	88	45	„	4	55	
be passed during this distance.	231	58	45	„	3	110	
Leaving the Puiswunni the	232	91	15	„	4	90	
line of separation runs along	233	55	30	„	3	120	
a small nulla till to 233. Its	234	76	15	„	2	110	
low banks and shallow stream	235	107	„	„	6	60	
renders it easily passed in	236	80	30	„	3	165	
all places.	237	51	30	„	2	55	
Ascending from this rivu-	238	97	15	„	5	200	
let the boundary passes over	239	64	15	„	6	165	
a low but steep ridge of hills,	240	91	„	„	2	110	
covered with a thick jungle	241	49	10	„	3	165	
and continues to proceed	242	106	30	„	3	165	
over a rugged and uneven	243	127	15	„	1	110	
surface till reaching 241.	244	81	30	„	1	165	
At which points it meets	245	129	15	„	2	165	
a small nulla along which	246	97	45	„	3	120	
and partly through the culti-	247	29	15	„	3	165	
vation of Bundeearka, it runs	248	334	35	„	3	110	
till to 246, having the country	249	75	„	„	3	110	
on each side steep and jungly.	250	96	10	„	3	55	
Leaving the cultivation the	251	110	„	„	3	110	
line marking the limits as-	252	201	15	„	4	40	
cends with considerable	253	159	35	„	7	55	
steepness, passes for a short	254	100	15	„	2	110	
way over an elevated ridge							
till to 251.	255	144	30	„	6	„	
Whence it rapidly descends,	256	57	10	„	4	110	
crosses the valley through	257	95	45	„	7	100	
which it had before passed,							
and ascends a steep and							
elevated top till to 255.							
Whence it proceeds along							
the summits of a high and							
jungly ridge till to 257.							

From this where the boundary falls into the Puiswunni till reaching thet elevated top at 257, it passes over rather high and steep slopes, the greater par a thick forest ; this portion of frontier is only crossed by a foot-path, and yma be said to offer numerous obstacles to its being more generally traversed.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
	258	180	„	„	2	165	
	259	137	45	„	3	„	
Quitting this point the last mentioned boundary descends with great steepness till to 263, the latter part having passed along the bed of a small nulla.	260	188	55	„	5	160	
	261	140	45	„	5	„	
	262	174	35	„	2	170	
	263	231	30	„	3	110	
	264	110	„	„	1	110	
	265	74	„	„	5	165	
	266	36	45	„	2	165	
Quitting it, it runs for some distance along low slopes, gradually however ascending to the high and jungly top at 271.	267	220	45	„	3	110	
	268	60	15	„	5	55	
	269	22	45	„	3	„	
	270	247	15	„	5	20	
	271	10	45	„	3	110	
	272	81	15	„	4	120	
Whence it runs along the crest of a high ridge to 274.	273	32	„	„	7	110	
	274	91	55	1	1	120	
From this it descends and falling into a small nulla passes along it till to 277.	275	117	10	„	3	„	
	276	31	45	„	1	110	
	277	83	30	„	4	110	
	278	290	15	„	2	„	Left 165 yds the point.
	279	177	30	„	2	120	
	280	177	30	„	1	110	
Quitting this it runs along the bed of a similar stream till to 283. The cultivation of Cullapooly borders on those nullas, but the Cauvery in their neighbourhood is high and steep.	281	177	30	„	1	„	Left 200 yds the point.
	282	177	30	„	2	„	
	283	177	30	„	1	10	
	284	177	30	„	5	„	
	285	148	40	„	5	„	
	286	206	45	„	7	110	Here join large nulla.
From the last point the boundary ascends with steepness to 285	287	265	15	„	2	„	
	288	285	„	„	5	10	
From this top which is free from jungle, it descends and passing over numerous acclivities reaches a rather large nulla at 289. Along whose stream it passes till to 200, this nulla is rather large, has high banks but can be passed without difficulty.	289	272	15	„	4	165	
	290	305	58	„	2	„	
	291	254	30	„	1	120	
	292	274	„	„	5	20	
	293	237	10	„	2	„	
	294	284	30	„	2	10	
	295	204	„	„	1	20	
	296	245	40	„	3	55	
	297	180	„	„	2	30	
	298	139	„	„	2	„	
	299	185	„	„	2	„	

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Quitting it the line of division ascends one of its tributary streams to 302.	300	185	„	„	3	„	
	301	146	30	„	2	„	
	302	170	10	„	4	110	
Whence it passes into Purruthuddy point at 306, the latter part being particularly high and steep.	303	234	15	„	4	„	
	304	265	58	„	3	„	
	305	214	30	„	1	165	
	306	243	„	„	2	„	Parathuddy point.
Thence it proceeds along a steep and elevated ridge to 308, this latter portion being quite open.	307	143	58	„	1	55	
	308	96	15	1	1	„	
	309	178	„	1	1	165	Cross small nulla.
A steep descent to 309 passing over a small nulla, at this place it passes a steep ridge to 311.	310	140	„	„	5	„	
	311	172	15	„	7	55	
	312	127	15	„	5	„	
	313	134	30	„	7	165	
And ascends another of a similar nature to 315, the whole of this latter space being a thick jungle.	314	152	15	„	5	55	
	315	129	„	„	3	120	
	316	167	15	„	3	200	
	317	130	25	„	4	40	
It continues along a steep and precipitous ridge to 319.	318	177	15	1	1	110	
	319	131	„	„	5	„	
Whence descending, it falls into a small nulla and continues along it till uniting with the large one at 322.	320	154	„	„	3	190	
	321	128	55	„	3	55	Here join large nulla, the division of Tawa Naad and Paudy Naku Naad.
	322	108	56	„	2	55	
	323	189	25	„	3	55	
Having united with the large nulla at 325 it proceeds along its bed to 325.	324	228	30	„	6	75	
	325	186	15	„	7	165	
	326	60	45	„	2	„	
	327	„	„	„	1	100	
	328	36	30	„	4	100	
This stream is here joined by one of equal magnitude along which the line of separation ascends to 334, these 2 nullas are about 300 feet broad with steep banks and an excessively stony bed.	329	72	45	„	3	„	
	330	104	„	„	2	110	
	331	127	15	„	4	110	
	332	86	30	„	7	„	
	333	57	10	„	7	110	
	334	134	„	„	3	110	
	335	149	45	1	6	55	
Quitting this last point it ascends for a short distance up a small rivulet, quitting it, it reaches a high top whence it proceeds for a short distance along a high ridge, but leaving its descent passes over a minor one to 342.	336	87	10	„	5	20	
	337	118	„	„	4	„	
	338	161	15	„	4	100	
	339	180	„	„	2	110	
	340	101	30	„	4	15	
	341	131	30	„	3	55	
	342	209	45	„	3	40	
	343	158	30	„	2	100	
	344	205	„	„	2	„	

The last portion of boundary runs through a thick forest over steep ridges or elevated tops, it is only crossed in one place, and in that alone cannot be considered as at all passable.

2243

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distance. Miles.	Distance. Furlongs.	Distance. Yards.	Objects.
From this last point it passes for a very short way along a small nulla but soon leaving it it ascends with steepness to 347.	345	175	45	"	4	70	
	346	137	10	"	7	55	
	347	115	"	"	4	165	
	348	201	10	"	4	55	
	349	130	30	"	4	55	
	350	104	15	"	3	200	
	351	68	30	"	2	55	
	352	171	45	"	5	20	
	353	144	"	"	3	60	
	354	236	45	"	3	120	
Quitting this it descends with equal rapidity, passes various small nullas and secondary ridges reaching, after a rugged and irregular course, the high top at 360.	355	129	30	"	4	200	
	356	106	58	"	3	"	
	357	154	15	"	1	40	
	358	82	10	"	2	100	
	359	133	30	"	1	165	
	360	77	"	"	1	100	A high Top.
From whence it passes a long ridge to 362.	361	149	50	"	4	165	
	362	159	"	"	3	165	
	363	87	30	"	4	"	
	364	109	"	"	6	"	
Whence it descends along the side of a small ridge, to 366 ascending steeply to 367.	365	160	15	"	3	"	
	366	105	45	"	1	"	
	367	34	30	"	4	100	
	368	181	45	"	3	100	
	369	110	"	1	1	15	
	370	72	45	"	1	110	
Leaving this top it falls into a small rivulet, along which it passes to 373.	371	137	40	"	2	15	
	372	70	"	"	1	130	Here join the Oodumbay holay division of Paudy, Naku Naad and Kuddieth Naad.
When uniting with the Oodumbay holay it runs along its bed to 379, the nulla is about a 100 feet broad has a rapid stream of water and a very rocky bed.	373	109	50	"	1	130	
	374	129	"	"	6	140	
	375	173	"	"	5	110	
	376	137	30	"	3	110	
	377	180	"	"	2	"	
	378	130	30	"	2	"	
Quitting the Oodumbay holay, the boundary passes a ridge to 381.	379	101	"	"	4	"	
	380	127	"	"	5	20	
	381	88	"	"	3	15	Division of Kuddieth Naad and Beyppoo Naad.
	382	142	30	"	5	60	
	383	74	"	"	1	165	
	384	39	5	"	4	"	
	385	64	15	"	4	165	
	386	99	30	"	2	70	
	387	125	"	"	1	160	
Crossing a small nulla it proceeds over various other ridges of irregular elevation till reaching the Kull holay at 392.	388	171	"	"	5	10	
	389	98	45	"	2	170	
	390	177	15	"	4	55	
	391	124	30	"	2	50	
	392	46	30	"	2	55	Meets the Kull holay

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
From thence it runs along its bed to 397 where it falls into the Burrapolay along whose stream it passes to 409. Both those Nullahs are remarkable for the steepness of their banks, and the ruggedness of their bottoms, their breadth is similar, and may be about 200 feet broad.	393	112	„	„	4	100	
	394	128	30	„	2	110	
	395	114	30	„	4	„	
	396	85	„	„	4	10	
	397	134	30	„	3	„	Meets the Burrapolay.
	398	74	„	„	3	„	
	399	109	„	„	3	110	
	400	61	10	„	2	„	Division of Baithsally and BettiethNaad.
	401	105	„	„	1	165	
	402	73	„	„	2	100	
	403	127	30	„	1	165	
	404	63	„	„	2	„	
	405	110	28	„	1	165	
	406	60	30	„	1	100	
	407	127	45	„	1	150	
	408	76	30	„	4	160	
	409	117	30	„	2	165	Division of Bettioth and Murray Naad.
Quitting the Burropolay the boundary passes over two exceedingly steep and elevated ridges reaching the summits of the ghaut at 418. It passes along them to 419.	401	174	30	„	4	55	
	411	188	„	„	6	60	
	412	162	40	„	4	„	
	413	180	„	„	4	„	
	441	183	45	„	2	110	
	415	158	30	„	2	10	
	416	116	30	„	5	150	
	417	156	10	„	2	27	
	418	193	„	„	7	70	
	419	133	„	1	3	120	
But descends them with rapidity joining a Nullah at their foot to 423.	420	151	30	„	3	70	
	421	163	„	„	3	„	
	422	141	10	„	5	170	
It passes along this stream to 425, this Nullah is small but rugged.	423	126	30	„	4	120	
	424	116	10	1	1	55	
Leaving it the line of division ascends a ridge and passes along it to 428 descending it passes a small Nullah at 429.	425	148	45	„	2	165	
	426	180	„	„	2	55	
	427	201	30	„	3	48	
	428	120	35	„	3	150	
	429	148	45	„	3	150	
	430	82	„	„	4	„	
Whence it ascends with steepness till to 434, and continues to do so till reaching the top of the ghauts at 440, where unite the three boundaries of Codugu, Malliallem, and Wynaad.	431	105	45	„	4	„	
	432	138	56	„	4	150	
	433	115	56	„	2	200	
	434	81	15	„	5	140	
	435	127	30	„	3	110	
	436	106	35	„	3	130	
	437	9	15	„	1	170	
Quitting the point where the 3 boundaries unite the line separating Codugu from	438	46	5	„	4	110	
	439	78	15	3	2	50	
	440	120	30	„	1	60	

2245

The last portion of the boundary it will be seen, runs with but little exception along the foot of the western ghauts passing for the whole distance through a forest of uncommon density, and invariably over steep, and high ridges; it is scarcely necessary to remark that this portion of frontier is of great natural strength and easily defencible throughout the wall formed by this range of mountains presenting a barrier that can only be passed at the few points where the roads may traverse it.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Wynaad passes immediately along the top of a steep ghaut, till reaching 448, this distance presents to the south a steep and precipitous wall, to the N. an elevated Table the highest top of which is the hill of Brumagerry.	441	100	15	„	7	110	Division of Murray and Tawullugayray Naad.
	442	112	58	„	6	70	
	443	87	„	„	2	150	
	444	105	30	„	4	55	
	445	85	15	„	2	165	
	446	123	„	„	5	120	
From the last point branches off a high and steep ridge of hills; along the summit of this range the boundary continues to pass; their elevations are very great to 456.	447	58	15	„	3	110	
	448	105	15	„	4	110	
	449	27	58	„	5	120	
	450	57	15	„	2	120	
	451	91	30	„	3	20	
	452	71	58	„	3	60	
	453	111	„	„	2	150	
From this the range gradually becomes lower, the boundary still continuing to pass along it till to 461, this latter portion runs through jungle, the previous part however of the Wynaad Boundary (that is from 441 to 456) runs over hills comparatively free from forest; from this point the boundary descends and again ascends to a top at 462; from this last point it gradually falls to 464 when passing a small Nullah, it proceeds over a low jungly slope joining the Kaydeegay Holay at 467 this being the point of division between the Mysore, Wynaad and Codugu countries.	454	139	30	„	2	100	
	455	90	30	„	1	4	
	456	37	45	„	2	60	
	457	52	„	„	2	150	
	458	38	30	„	5	70	
	459	88	10	„	1	55	
	460	58	15	„	1	70	
	461	48	15	1	3	40	
	462	75	15	„	5	110	
	463	101	45	„	4	165	Pass small Nulla.
	464	53	30	„	6	„	
	465	29	30	„	3	165	
	466	86	45	„	3	110	
	467	60	30	„	1	110	Moogooda X.

The whole of the Wynaad boundary may be said to pass along the crest of a high ridge of hills, and is consequently from this circumstance extremely strong, and is rendered still more so by the rugged nature of the country in its vicinity.

From the minute nature of the above description but little more need be said with regard to the boundary. Considered in a military light, it will be seen, that it is covered by Hills with little exception; about one third of its extent, that is, from the point where the Wynaad and Mysore boundaries unite till passing the village of Beendeeaduker; from this gradually becoming weaker, it may be said to be quite open till meeting the Nittrawutti or Coomardarry; the whole extent of that river though presenting a good natural boundary, cannot from its confined breadth be considered in every place a very defencible one—leaving it hills again cover the line of demarkation till it meets the champaign district of Yailsowra; from this the frontier is entirely open till the point where it joins the Cauvery—that river though a tolerably good barrier is still less so than the thick forest, which commencing from where the boundary quits its stream continues without interruption till to the Kaydeegay Holay; the point, as has just been observed, where the Hills may be said to commence.

2247

APPENDIX.

TO

PART I.

TRIANGLES

The Triangular operations of Colonel Lambton in connecting the two coasts of the Peninsula having been carried through Codugu, the subsequent series will necessarily be of minor consideration, such however became absolutely requisite as those above alluded to were of too great magnitude to admit of their being useful in taking up the geographical detail of the country. The accompanying Triangles will therefore be viewed as only filling up the primary ones which served as their basis, and for the purposes that have been stated, their amount has been limited to such a number as were found sufficient for facilitating the operation of the Topographical Survey. The great magnitude of the Primary Triangles rendered it difficult in some measure to determine, with that nice accuracy that could be desired, some of the intermediate ones, as the Telescope of the ordinary Theodolite, is not sufficiently powerful to cut with precision, objects at so considerable a distance; each side however has been separately determined from distinct data, and the general results were found in every instance of sufficient correctness, to answer in a satisfactory manner all the purposes for which they were intended.

TADIANDAMALE AND BETTADIPOOR—5·3015991 200262

1	Tadiandamale ...	31	36	"		
	Maullimby... ...	77	57	"	5·2854876	192969
	Bettadipoor... ...	70	27	"	5·0305950	107299
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND BETTADIPOOR—5·2323200					170734
2	Soobramuhni ...	26	37	"		
	Maullimby... ...	134	33	"	4·8884063	77340
	Bettadipoor... ...	18	50	"	5·0307473	107336
	BETTADIPOOR AND TADIANDAMALE—5·3015991					200262
3	Bettadipoor... ...	39	8	"		
	Cotay Betta... ...	100	21	"	5·1211203	132166
	Tadiandamale ...	40	29	"	5·1088407	128482
	TADIANDAMALE AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·2141293					163730
4	Tadiandamale ...	14	19	29		
	Cotay Betta... ...	126	35	"	5·109149	128543
	Soobramuhni ...	39	5	31	4·7028565	50449
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND BETTADIPOOR—5·2323200					170734
5	Soobramuhni ...	34	26	"		
	Cotay Betta ...	133	4	"	4·7040011	50582·6
	Bettadipoor... ...	12	30	"	5·1210869	1321·56
	COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1210869					132156
6	Cotay Betta... ...	54	2	"		
	Maullimby... ...	94	40	"	4·8380305	68870
	Bettadipoor... ...	31	18	"	5·0306701	107317

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	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0306701					107317.
7	Maullimby... ...	49	10	„	4·8849508	76727
	Codergurrahully...	85	23	„	4·9109563	81462·2
	Bettadipoor... ...	45	27	„		
	COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1210869					132156
8	Cotay Betta... ...	20	27	„	4·7543025	56794
	Codergurrahully...	145	27	„	4·9107182	81417
	Bettadipoor... ...	14	6	„		
	MAULLIMBY AND COTAY BETTA—4·8380305					68870
9	Maullimby... ...	39	51	„	4·8876237	77201·1
	Soobramuhni ...	61	8	„	4·7024615	50403
	Cotay Betta... ...	79	1	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·2323200					170734
10	Bettadipoor... ...	26	36	„	4·9087025	81040·6
	Codergurrahully...	133	8	„	5·0201789	104756
	Soobramuhni ...	20	16	„		
	MAULLIMBY AND COTAY BETTA—4·8384902					68943
11	Maullimby... ...	45	32	„	4·8844758	76643
	Codergurrahully...	60	3	„	4·7543040	56794
	Cotay Betta... ...	74	25	„		
	CODERGURRAHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·8849508					76727.
12	Codergurrahully...	60	3	„	4,8389652	69018·6
	Cotay Betta ...	74	25	„	4,7547062	56484·8
	Maullimby... ...	45	32	„		

CODERGURRAHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·8849508 767274

13	Codergurrahully...	47	45	"	5·0203572	104799
	Soobramuhni ...	46	52	"	4·8911277	77826.5
	Maullimby... ...	85	23	"		
	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0305950					107298
14	Maullimby... ...	112	39	"	4·6649827	46236·2
	Hurrugul	48	31	"	5·1211697	132181
	Bettadipoor... ...	18	50	"		
	BETTADIPOOR AND COTAY BETTA—5·1210869					132153
15	Bettadipoor... ...	12	29	"	5·1211559	132177
	Hurrugul	83	43	"	4·4584101	28734
	Cotay Betta... ...	83	48	"		
	CODERGURRAHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·8849508					76727·4
16	Codergurrahully...	36	44	"	4·8436203	69762
	Hurrugul	79	47	"	4·6685597	46618·6
	Maullimby... ...	63	29	"		
	BETTADIPOOR AND HURRUGUL—5·1211697					132181
17	Bettadipoor... ...	26	37	"	4·9084888	81000·6
	Codergurrahully...	122	7	"	4·8445997	69199
	Hurrugul	31	16	"		
	MAULLIMBY AND COTAY BETTA—4·8380305					68885
18	Maullimby... ...	17	57	"	4·6655622	46298
	Hurrugul	132	14	"	4·4578214	28696
	Cotay Betta ...	29	49	"		

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	COTAY BETTA AND MAULLIMBY—4·8384902					68943
19	Cotay Betta ...	44	15	„		
	Koondhully... ...	97	15	„	4·6360564	43257
	Maullimby... ...	38	30	„	4·6861535	48546
	KOONDHULLY AND COTAY BETTA—4·6360564					43257
20	Koondhully... ...	68	9	„		
	Kalkundoor... ...	70	36	„	4·4805531	30238
	Cotay Betta... ...	41	15	„	4·6290628	42566
	BETTADIPOOR AND COTAY BETTA—5·1210869					132153
21	Bettadipoor... ...	18	2	„		
	Kalkundoor... ...	104	56	„	5·0599268	114796
	Cotay Betta... ...	57	2	„	4·6269252	42357
	MAULLIMBY AMD KOONDHULLY—4·6861335					48546
22	Maullimby... ...	53	50	„		
	Kalkundoor ...	117	8	„	4·4227375	26469
	Koondhully... ...	29	2	„	4·4815859	30310
	MAULLIMBY AMD BETTADIPOOR—5·0305950					107299
23	Maullimby... ...	99	21	„		
	Kalkundoor... ...	67	18	„	4·4290252	26855
	Bettadipoor... ...	13	21	„	5·0598019	114763
	COTAY BETTA AND MAULLIMBY—4·8384902					68943
24	Cotay Betta... ...	29	49	„		
	Hurrugul	132	14	„	4·4578300	28696·5
	Maullimby... ...	17	57	„	4·6655622	46298

	KOONDHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·6861535					48546
25	Koondhully ...	72	15	„		
	Hurrugul... ...	87	12	„	4·2320045	17061
	Maullimby... ...	20	33	„	4·6654872	46290
	BETTADIPOOR AND MAULLIMBY—5·0305950					107299
26	Bettadipoor ...	18	50	„		
	Hurrugul... ...	48	31	„	5·1201690	132182
	Maullimby... ...	112	39	„	4·6649827	46236·2
	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0305950					107229
27	Maullimby... ...	133	14	„		
	Koondhully ...	32	42	„	4·6847107	48385·
	Bettadipoor ...	14	4	„	5·1674824	147056·
	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0306686					107317
28	Maullimby... ...	61	41	„		
	Noorkull	58	11	„	5·0394955	109520
	Bettadipoor ...	60	8	„	5·0460306	111181
	KALKUNDOOR AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0598624					114779
29	Kalkundoor ...	64	23	„		
	Noorkull	68	44	„	4·9530822	89759·9
	Bettadipoor ...	46	47	„	5·0459173	111152·
	HURRUGUL AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1211559					132177
30	Hurrugul	56	26	„		
	Noorkull	82	16	„	4·9446088	88037·7
	Bettadipoor... ...	41	18	„	5·0458955	111146.

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	COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1211203					132166
31	Cotay Betta ...	56	59	„		
	Noorkull	94	9	„	4·8060782	63985·
	Bettadipoor ...	28	52	„	5·0457698	111114·
	COTAY BETTA AND TADIANDAMALE—5·1088407					128482
32	Cotay Betta ...	43	20	„		
	Noorkull	108	31	„	4·8058745	63955
	Tadiandamale ...	28	9	„	4·9687117	93049
	TADIANDAMALE AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·2141293					163730
33	Tadiandamale ...	22	16	30		
	Muddukayray Tree...	136	58	„	4·9296028	85036
	Soobramuhni ...	20	45	30	4·9587741	90944
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND COTAY BETTA—4·7023616					50392
34	Soobramuhni ...	18	17	„		
	Muddukayray Tree...	20	11	„	4·9584396	90874
	Cotay Betta ...	141	32	„	4·6610478	45819·2
	COTAY BETTA AND TADIANDAMALE—5·1091497					128543
35	Cotay Betta ...	41	53	„		
	Muddukayray Tree...	157	10	„	4·6611101	45825·8
	Tadiandamale ...	7	57	„	4·9297356	85062·
	COTAY BETTA AND NOORKULL—4·8058763					639553
36	Cotay Betta ...	28	28	„		
	Muddukayray Tree...	108	6	„	4·6651961	46259·
	Noorkull	43	26	„	4·5063833	32091·

SOOBRAMUHNI AND BETTADIPOOR—5·2323200

37	Soobramuhni ...	40	00	10		
	Noorkull	98	42	„	5·0568603	113968·
	Bettadipoor ...	41	17	50	5·0454136	111023·
TADIANDAMALE AND MUDDUKAYRAY TREE—4·9296692						85049·
38	Tadiandamale ...	20	3	20		
	Noorkull	65	12	40	4·9701672	93361·3
	Muddukayray Tree...	94	44	„	4·5069513	32133·
KOONDHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·6861535						48546
39	Koondhully ...	129	30	„		
	Soorlaby Peak ...	31	54	„	4·4668973	29302
	Maullimby... ...	18	86	„	4·8505593	70885
MULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0305450						107286
40	Maullimby... ...	114	36	„		
	Soorlaby Peak ...	40	11	„	4·8503276	70848
	Bettadipoor ...	25	13	„	5·1795035	151183·
KOONDHULLY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1516117						145040
41	Koondhully ...	96	48	„		
	Soorlaby Peak ...	72	7	„	4·4668528	29299
	Bettadipoor ...	11	5	„	5·1700532	147929
KOONDHULLY AND KALKUNDOOR—4·4810698						30274
42	Koondhully ...	100	21	„		
	Soorlaby Peak ...	40	39	„	4·4660665	29246·
	Kalkundoor ...	39	„	„	4·6600730	45716·8

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	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0306686					107317
43	Maullimby... ...	84	58	„		
	Payroor	31	46	„	5·2602071	182057
	Bettadipoor ...	63	16	„	5·3076242	203060
	COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1212473					132204
44	Cotay Betta ...	110	30	„		
	Payroor	37	33	„	5·0598090	114764
	Bettadipoor ...	31	57	„	5·3078943	203176
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND TADIANDAMALE—5·2141293					
45	Soobramuhni ...	33	29	31		
	Noorkull	104	02	„	5·0566958	113945
	Tadiandamale ...	42	28	29	4·9690855	93129.1
	COTAY BETTA AND TADIANDAMALE—5·1089437					128512
46	Cotay Betta... ...	71	11	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	61	15	„	5·0341828	108188
	Tadiandamale ...	47	34	„	5·1422255	138748
	MAULLIMBY AND TADIANDAMALE—5·2854876					192969
47	Maullimby... ...	45	42	„		
	Seedasweer ...	95	36	„	5·0836039	121228
	Tadiandamale ...	38	42	„	5.1422919	138769
	COTAY BETTA AND TADIANDAMALE—5·1083437					128334
48	Cotay Betta... ...	33	6	„		
	Tha'oor	103	39	„	4·9571933	90613·
	Tadiandamale ...	43	15	„	4·8586604	72221·5

SOOBRAMUHNI AND TADIANDAMALE—5·2141293 163730

49	Soobramuhni ...	19	10	„		
	Tha'oor	131	57	„	5·0266869	106338
	Tadiandamale ...	28	53	„	4·8590085	72278·5

TADIANDAMALE AND SEEDASWEER—5·1422919 138768

50	Tadiandamale ...	90	49	„		
	Tha'oor	65	52	„	4·8586214	72214
	Seedasweer... ...	27	19	„	5·1891103	154564

BETTADIPOOR AND NOORKULL—5·0464717 111294

51	Bettadipoor ...	25	37	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	126	23	„	4·8122514	64901
	Noorkull... ...	28	„	„	4·7764687	59768

MAULLIMBY AND NOORKULL—5·0397234 109578

52	Maullimby... ...	29	23	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	64	25	„	5·0835811	121221
	Noorkull... ...	86	12	„	4·7753046	59608

CODERGURRAHULLY AND BETTADIPOOR—4·9108324 81439

53	Codergurrahully....	52	46	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	86	53	„	4·7226833	52806
	Bettadipoor... ...	40	21	„	4·8124855	64936

MAULLIMBY AND CODERGURRAHULLY—4·8849508 767273

54	Maullimby... ...	16	52	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	24	57	„	5·0837788	121277
	Codergurrahully...	138	11	„	4·7224282	52775

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	BETTADIPOOR AND COTAY BETTA—5·1211203					132166
55	Bettadipoor ...	54	27	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	96	17	„	4·8129334	65003
	Cotay Betta... ...	29	16	„	5·0331525	107932
	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0305950					107298
56	Maullimby... ...	32	17	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	61	56	„	5·0837519	121269
	Bettadipoor... ...	85	47	„	4·8125571	649467
	SEEDASWEER AND TADIANDMALE—5·1422919					138768
57	Seedasweer... ...	28	26	„		
	Baingoor	75	35	„	5·1430600	139015
	Tadiandamale ...	75	59	„	4·8339181	68221
	TADIANDAMALE AND NOORKULL—4·9687677					93061
58	Tadiandamale ...	56	32	„		
	Baingoor	77	46	„	4·8334659	68150
	Noorkull	45	42	„	4·9000167	79435·9
	BETTADIPOOR AND TADIANDAMALE—5·3015991					200262
59	Bettadipoor ...	19	53	„		
	Baingoor	91	12	„	5·2716031	186897
	Tadiandamale	58	55	„	4·8333065	68125
	COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1211203					132166
60	Cotay Betta ...	122	48	„		
	Sayrungaul ...	31	21	„	5·0446965	110840
	Bettadipoor... ...	25	51	„	5·3294681	213534

	COTAY BETTA AND CODERGURRAHULLY—4·7544859					56818
61	Cotay Betta... ...	102	21	"	5·0443099	110869
	Sayrungaul ...	24	17	"		
	Codergurrahully....	53	22	"	5·1302128	134962
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND THA'OOR—5·0266869					106337
62	Soobramuhni ...	12	11	"	4·7391813	54850
	Moodapaudee ...	155	26	"		
	Tha'oor... ...	12	23	"	4·7322185	53978
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND COTAY BETTA—4·7026545					50426.0
63	Soobramuhni ...	70	26	"	4·7389214	54817
	Moodapaudee ...	51	24	"		
	Cotay Betta... ...	58	10	"	4·783881·4	60799
	THA'OOR AND COTAY BETTA—4·9571933					90613·6
64	Tha'oor	40	41	"	4·7322884	53987
	Moodapaudee ...	104	"	"		
	Cotay Betta ...	35	19	"	4·7844554	60877
	COTAY BETTA AND THA'OOR—4·9571933					90613·6
65	Cotay Betta... ...	16	10	"	5·1776446	150537
	Purruthuddy... ...	21	40	"		
	Tha'oor	142	10	"	4·8346441	68335
	THA'OOR AND MOODAPAUDY—4·7322185					539782
66	Tha'oor	101	50	"	4·8340882	68247
	Purruthuddy ...	33	40	"		
	Moodapaudy ...	44	30	"	4·9790974	95301

	COTAY BETTA AND SOOBRAMUHNI—4·7026545					50426
67	Cotay Betta ...	43	2	„	5·0390408	109406
	Chokaudee... ...	25	22	30	4·9047163	80300
	Soobramuhni ...	111	35	30		
	THA'OOR AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·0266869					106337
68	Tha'oor	47	48	„	4·9395358	87003·3
	Chokaudee... ...	78	49	„	4·9047165	80300
	Soobramuhni ...	53	23	„		
	TADIANDAMALE AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·2141293					163730
69	Tadiandamale ...	28	45	„	5·2021697	159283
	Chokaudee... ...	78	42	„	4·9047658	80309
	Soobramuhni ...	72	33	„		
	MOODAPAUDEE AND THA'OOR—4·7322185					53978·2
70	Moodapaudee ...	108	35	„	4·7258167	53188
	Chokaudee... ...	36	„	„	4·9397445	87045
	Tha'oor	35	25	„		
	THA'OOR AND PURRUTHUDDY—4·8343635					68291
71	Tha'oor	66	25	„	4·9393087	86958·
	Chokaudee... ...	46	23	„	4·9367648	86449·9
	Parruthuddy ...	67	12	„		
	COTAY BETTA AND THA'OOR—4·9571933					90613·6
72	Cotay Betta ...	50	27	„	5·0393877	109493
	Chokaudee... ...	53	27	„	4·9393887	86973·
	Tha'oor	76	6	„		

	THA'OOR AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9394943					86995
73	Tha'oor... ...	66	25	„	4·8345491	68320·2
	Purruthuddy ...	67	12	„		
	Chokaudee... ...	46	23	„	4·9369504	86687·1
	CHOKAUDEE AND MOODAPAUDEE—4·7257694					53182·5
74	Chokaudee ...	82	24	„		
	Purruthuddy ...	33	29	„	4·9381612	86728
	Moodapaudee ...	64	7	„	4·9802389	95551
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9047163					803001
75	Soobramuhni ...	28	36	„		
	Purruthuddy ...	26	21	„	5·1705757	148107
	Chokaudee... ...	125	3	„	4·9375328	86603
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9047163					80300·1
76	Soobramuhni ...	41	12	„		
	Moodapaudee ...	95	59	„	4·7393770	54875·3
	Chokaudee... ...	42	49	„	4·7257694	53182·
	THA'OOR AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9394793					86992
77	Tha'oor... ...	36	36	„		
	Payrahjee	120	8	„	4·5991430	89732·2
	Chokaudee... ...	23	16	„	4·7779438	59971·3
	THA'OOR AND MOODAPAUDEE—4·7322884					53986·9
78	Tha'oor	72	1	„		
	Payrahjee	65	51	„	4·5986969	39691
	Moodapaudee ...	42	8	„	4·7503136	56274·7

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CHOKAUDEE AND MOODAPAUDEE—4·7257694 53182·5

79	Chokaudee... ...	59	16	30		
	Payrahjee	54	15	30	4·7786837	60073·6
	Moodapaudee ...	66	28	„	4·7507071	56305·7

KUNDUDDUKUMALE AND GOOMPAY—5·1008735 126146

80	Kunduddukumale.	48	46	„		
	Maddhow... ...	82	22	„	4·9816382	95860·4
	Goompay... ...	48	52	„	4·9809750	95713·1

BELLANAAD AND KUNDUDDUKUMALE—5·1252515 133429

81	Bellanaad	39	20	39		
	Maddhow... ...	118	8	„	4·7630066	57957·1
	Kunduddukumale.	22	31	21	4·9819291	95924·4

GOOMPAY AND BELLANAAD—4·7734631 59355·8

82	Goompay... ...	34	53	„		
	Maddhow... ...	35	46	„	4·9812614	95777·
	Bellanaad... ...	109	21	„	4·7640148	58078·

CHOKAUDEE AND PAYRAHJEE—4·7783105 60022

83	Chokaudee... ...	90	51	„		
	Maddhow... ...	43	11	„	4·7997317	63056·8
	Payrahjee... ...	45	58	„	4·9429939	87698·8

THA'OOR AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9394793 86992

84	Tha'oor... ...	27	3	33		
	Maddhow	38	48	27	5·1026393	126660·
	Chokaudee... ..,	114	8	„	4·8003458	63146·

MADDHOW AND BELLANAAD—4·7635553 58017

85	Maddhow... ...	145	„	„	4·7995582	63031·6
	Chokaudee	16	45	6	5·0624163	115546·
	Bellanaad	18	14	54		

BELLANAAD AND KUNDUDDUKUMALE—5·1252515 133429

86	Bellanaad	57	34	„	5·0630692	11·5629
	Chokaudee... ...	68	37	43	5·0825416	120932
	Kunduddukumale.	53	48	17		

BULLAMALE AND GOOMPAY—4·7402837 54990

87	Bullamale	76	3	1	4·9670277	92689
	Maddhow... ...	35	53	45	4·9808917	95695
	Goompay	70	3	14		

GOOMPAY AND BULLAMALE—4·7402853 54990·2

88	Goompay... ...	61	16	„	5·0926700	123785
	Kulbetta... ...	26	21	„	5·0359793	108637
	Bullamale... ...	92	23	„		

GOOMPAY AND MADDHOW—4·9811161 95745

89	Goompay... ...	8	47	„	5·0927089	123796
	Kulbetta	26	37	„	4·5136539	32682·8
	Maddhow... ...	144	36	„		

BELLANAAD AND GOOMPAY—4·7734631 59355·8

90	Bellanaad	133	34	„	4·8765232	75253
	Kulbetta	20	19	„	5·0929549	123866
	Goompay	26	7	„		

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	MADDHOW AND BELLANAAD—4·7635553						58017
91	Maddhow... ...	108	50	„	4·5135623	32625·1	
	Kulbetta	46	55	„	4·8761107	75181·4	
	Bellanaad... ...	24	15	„			
	BELLANAAD AND GOOMPAY—4·7734631						59355·8
92	Bellanaad	76	35	„	4·6708053	46860	
	Niddoopoolly ...	60	11	„	4·8231158	66545	
	Goompay	43	14	„			
	BULLAMALE AND GOOMPAY—4·7402853						549902
93	Bullamale... ...	57	26	42	4·8980519	79077·3	
	Niddoopoolly ...	44	11	4	4·8228343	66502	
	Goompay	78	22	14			
	MADDHOW AND PAYRHJEE—4·9429939						87698·8
94	Maddhow	66	48	„	4·6787378	47724·1	
	Uddoor	80	43	„	5·9120991	81676·9	
	Payrahjee	32	29	„			
	MADDHOW AND KULBETTA—4·5135905						32628
95	Maddhow... ...	146	7	„	4·6769896	47532·4	
	Uddoor	13	42	„	4·8853865	75804·5	
	Kulbetta	20	11	„			
	PURUTHNDDY AND MADDHOW—4·9329855						85698.9
96	Purruthuddy ...	31	52	„	4·7657830	58315·3	
	Uddoor	107	44	„	4·6767157	47502·4	
	Maddhow... ...	40	24	„			

	MADDHOW AND UDDOOR—4·6768490					47517
97	Maddhow	51	29	"	4·4991505	31561
	Niddoopoolly ...	86	58	"		
	Uddoor	41	53	"	4·5709018	37230·7
	MADDHOW AND BELLANAAD—4·7635553					5·8017
98	Maddhow... ...	53	34	"	4·4976301	31450·7
	Niddoopoolly ...	93	41	"		
	Bellanaad... ...	32	46	"	4·6700055	46774·1
	MADDHOW AND KUNDUDDUKUMALE—4·9817824					95892
99	Maddhow	27	29	"	4·9329855	85702·9
	Purruthuddy ...	89	11	"		
	Kunduddukumale.	63	20	"	4·1459893	44257·7
	THA'OOR AND SEEDASWEER—5·1967839					157320
100	Tha'oor... ...	27	05	"	5·1345731	136324
	Veerajenderpett Tree... ...	105	35	"		
	Seedasweer ...	56	35	"	4·8222741	76256
	NOORKULL AND SEEDASWEER—4·7758506					59683
101	Noorkull... ...	79	"	"	4·7798080	60229
	Veerajenderpett Tree... ...	50	11	"		
	Seedasweer ...	50	49	"	4·8823810	76274
	BETTADIPOOR AND TADIANDAMALE—5·3015991					200262
102	Bettadipoor... ...	51	45	"	5·2883583	194249
	Brummagerray...	65	55	30		
	Tadiandamale ...	62	19	80	5·2361675	172253

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	NOORKULL AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0459446					111159
103	Noorkull... ...	83	17	45	5·2375709	17281·0
	Brummagerray ...	34	38	„		
	Bettadipoor ...	62	4	15	5·2883698	194254
	TADIANDAMALE AND NOORKULL—4·9687117					93049
104	Tadiandamale ...	74	42	„	5·2361958	172264
	Brummagerray ...	31	17	„		
	Noorkull	74	1	„	5·2376461	172840
	BETTADIPOOR AND BRUMMAGERRAY—5·2883677					194253
105	Bettadipoor... ...	20	37	„	5·2671675	184998
	Beerunnauny ...	87	20	„		
	Brummagerray ...	72	3	„	4·8355214	68473·3
	BETTADIPOOR AND NOORKULL—5·0459446					111159
106	Bettadipoor... ...	41	27	15	5·2672523	185034
	Beerunnauny ...	35	53	„		
	Noorkull	102	39	45	5·0988172	125550
	BETTDIPOOR AND BRUMMAERRAY—5·2883677					194253
107	Bettadipoor ...	36	35	„	4·8128328	64987·9
	Seedasweer ...	128	10	„		
	Brummagerray ...	15	15	„	5·1680654	147293·
	TADIANDAMALE AND SEEDASWEER—5·1422580					138758
108	Tadiandamale ...	55	14	„	5·2363140	172311
	Brummagerray ...	50	44	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	74	2	„	5·1679970	1472330

SEEDASWEER AND BRUMMAGERRAY—5·1680288 147241

109	Seedasweer ...	27	34	20	5·0928478	123836
	Beerunnauny ...	95	36	»	4·8355620	68479·7
	Brummagerray ...	56	49	»		

NOORKULL AND BEERUNNAUNY—5·0988172 125550

110	Noorkull	19	20	»	5·2373849	172737
	Brummagerray ...	37	27	»	4·8347756	68356
	Beerunuauny ...	123	13	»		

BRUMMAGERRAY AND BEERUNNAUNY—4·8352865 68436·3

111	Brummagerray ...	37	43	»	4·9532199	89788·1
	Moogootagayray....	47	35	»	4·7402814	54989·7
	Beerunnauny ...	92	42	»		

TADIANDAMALE AND BRUMMAGERRAY—5·2361516 172247

112	Tadiandamale ...	26	9	»	5·0281678	106700
	Moogootagayray...	122	15	30	4·9531163	89766·9
	Brummagerray ...	31	35	30		

VEERAJENDERPETT TREE AND SEEDASWEER—4·8823253 76265

113	Veerajenderpett Tree... ...	64	46	»	4·5690719	37074
	Moogootagayray...	86	13	»	4·8397194	69138.7
	Seedasweer... ...	29	1	»		

TADIANDAMALE AND SEEDASWEER—5·1422580 138758

114	Tadiandamale ...	29	4	30	5·0277195	106590
	Moogootagayray....	102	17	»	4·8389109	69009·9
	Seedasweer... ...	48	38	30		

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	TADIANDAMALE AND BRUMMAGERRAY—5·2361516					172247
115	Tadiandamale ...	26	9	30		
	Moogootagayray...	122	23	,,	5·0271295	106443
	Brummagerray ...	31	27	30	4·9538543	89919·6
	NOORKULL AND SEEDASWEER—4·7758506					59683
116	Noorkull	54	59	,,		
	Moogootagerray...	45	10	,,	4·9182554	82842·9
	Seedasweer... ...	79	51	,,	4·8383820	68925·8
	TADIANDAMALE AND NOORKULL—4·9687117					93049
117	Tadiandamale ...	19	36	24		
	Muntapum... ...	95	30	16	4·9231907	84760·
	Noorkull... ...	65	3	20	4.4965467	31372·3
	BRUMMAGERRAY AND TADIANDAMALE—5·2361516					172247
118	Brummagerray ...	25	19	,,		
	Muntapum... ...	60	21	48	5·2958728	197639
	Tadiandamale ...	94	12	12	4·9281015	84742·5

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Table shewing the Distances of the several points from the Meridian of Babroyn, Droog and its Perpendicular.

Places Computed.	Distances from Babroyn, Droog on the	
	Meridian.	Perpendicular.
Tadiandamale, ...	331826 S	69272 E
Tha'oor, ...	263598 „	45494 „
Baingoor, ...	263868 „	64019 „
Sayrungaul, ...	290790 „	41215 „
Payroor, ...	309416 „	57214 „
Veerajenderpett Tree, ...	334899 „	140623 „
Moogoatagayray, ...	351573 „	176617 „
Beerunnauny, ...	400161 „	148225 „
Brummagerry, ...	435166 „	207079 „
Seedasweer, ...	288083 „	200827 „
Noorkull, ...	274801 „	142668 „
Muddukayray, ...	259672 „	114298 „
Codergurrahully, ...	246299 „	168607 „
Bettadipoor, ...	245732 „	250084 „
Maullimby, ...	169870 „	174191 „
Koondhully, ...	171343 „	125605 „
Hurrugul, ...	187495 „	131493 „
Kalkundoor, ...	185250 „	152443 „
Soorlaby Peak, ...	194570 „	107736 „
Cotay Betta, ...	214445 „	121588 „
Soobramuhni, ...	170437 „	96850 „
Moodapaudee, ...	211829 „	660813 „
Payrahjee, ...	240727 „	12753 „
Chokaudee, ...	181290 „	17274 „
Bullamale, ...	116722 „	116546 „
Bellanaad, ...	137096 „	98333 „
Goompay, ...	166502 „	139909 „
Niddoopoolly, ...	182034 „	75208 „
Maddhow, ...	175154 „	44537 „
Kulbetta,...	158756 „	16208 „
Uddoor, ...	218061 „	65385 „
Kunduddu Rumale, ...	268603 „	65829 „
Purruthuddy, ...	258104 „	22766 „

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